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LXIII

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WILLIAM DUNLAP (1766-1839)
By Himself
(In the Theodore Salisbury Woolsey Collection)

DIARY OF WILLIAM DUNLAP

(1766–1839)

THE MEMOIRS OF A DRAMATIST, THEATRICAL MANAGER, PAINTER, CRITIC, NOVELIST, AND HISTORIAN

VOLUME II

JANUARY 1 – SEPTEMBER 21, 1806
MARCH 17 – MAY 6, 1811
NOVEMBER 23, 1812 – MAY 7, 1813
OCTOBER 15, 1819 – FEBRUARY 13, 1822

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By himself

Ivory, H. 3¼; W. 2¾ inches
In the collection of the late Theodore Salisbury Woolsey, of New Haven, Conn. Reproduced by courtesy of Miss Edith Woolsey, Theodore S. Woolsey, Jr., and Heathcote Muirson Woolsey. This miniature was formerly in the collection of the late Mrs. William H. Carmalt (Laura Woolsey Johnson).

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By William Dunlap

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In the collection of the late Theodore Salisbury Woolsey. Reproduced by courtesy of Miss Edith Woolsey, Theodore S. Woolsey, Jr., and Heathcote Muirson Woolsey.

This was one of the series of water color views by Dunlap sold at the Henkels auction in Philadelphia, March 10, 1905. Catalogue No. 927, no. 24.

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LETTERS FROM WILLIAM DUNLAP TO HIS WIFE

January 1—March 6, 1806,

Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington

and

DIARY OF WILLIAM DUNLAP

July 3—September 21, 1806,

Perth Amboy, New York, and Boston

(Manuscript volume lettered *Memoirs 23* owned by Yale University Library)

Copies of letters to my Wife made by my desire by my little girl

Phil. January 1st 1806

My dearest Bess

A happy new year to you and those around you. I have had serious thoughts of passing this day with you, nothing but the expence deterred. What a contrast this to the last. Oppressed with a debt which destroyd mind & body, but I will not think of it now. If you was but with me I should be content.

Yesterday was our first winters day, and was preceded by a storm that did much mischief in this harbour. I have nearly finished all the pictures I have begun here and if no new ones offer I shall start from this place on monday.

I look for a letter from you to day, & hope to find you have recieved the 45 doll[s]. If it is not so you shall have another check by Saturday.

I did intend to have writen you a long letter for a New Years gift, but the morning has slipt away and I must go out to finish by appointment Mrs. Harwood's picture. Adieu my dearest

W D

Phil: Jan[y] 3[d] 1806 Friday

I received yours, and am very sorry Mr. P has been so negligent. I do not understand whether he has the acc[t] and receit or not. If not, I think you had best send it to him If he has it, let him know that I left the acc[t] with you, supposing it the same as cash and that you want the money.

The cold weather makes me more anxious for you. if

you get the money from Mr. P. provide yourself with plenty of wood while the roads continue good.

As to my pictures I have painted three for money, the fourth Mr. Bache is out of town. I have done one Washington's head & begun another: these I look on as Cash. I have painted at our friend Brown's at Mrs. Wignels and at Mr. C Clays, where I am from the kindness of Harwood & wife, and the frankness of Mr. & Mrs. Clay, quite at home. The sketch I made of Mag. is of great use to me, as it is the admiration equally of the ignorent & the Connesseur (I cant for my soul recollect how to spell the word)

I have succeeded highly with Mrs. Harwoods picture, & expect it to aid me at Washington as I am to carry letters from her to Mrs. Maddison. I have bought me a waiscoat $5.50, A box of colours, of paris preperation and very fine $10. Ivories & pencils &c. $10. Dont think me extravagant. I really think I shall never part with a dollar but for a necessary—these things were so to me.

I have employ'd a man to collect subscriptions for this City, at 16 per cent upon what he collects, he delivering the first volume & recieving the money. It is as low as I could get it done & with difficulty found a man fitting.

You need be under no apprehension for the expence of the engraving. Independent of the additional currency it will give to the Volume, I doubt not as many prints may be sold in the print shops as will pay the Engraver.

I wish you to tell Mag. to look for the 23d Volume of those little books in which I journalize, and copy in a neat hand, all my letters, begining at the 1st January 1806. it will improve hir writing, and spelling, and I will journalize by letter to you, which will add to your entertainment.

Pray sell your butter, try to get the money and buy plenty of wood, that I may at least think of your being warm, if you cant have all the comforts I wish you. Adieu my love, with best love to our mother and daughter. John has not yet written to me.

W D

Phil Monday Jan^{y} 6th 1806

I recieved yours of Saturday this morning. You see I am still here. I am very glad you have received the money; I shall not want any of it sent to me. For Mrs. W[ignell]'s child's picture I recieved 25 doll^{s} & she is so well pleas'd that I am employ'd to paint a second at the same price. I have sent by Dr. Irving, a Washington's head to D[avid] Longworth to sell for me, and am far advanced in another, much finer than anything I have done. If I do not get employ at Washington I shall not stay there, and I shall when there ask 25 doll^{s} for every head I paint—my present stile of painting will justify it. As to doing without a female servant, I say no—you must not think of it so much by way of answer.

It will be wednesday or thursdy before I leve this. Your next letter must be directed for me at the post office Baltimore.

Some days ago, a traveling quaker, a traveller and a writer of a book of travals, called to see my friend Brown, & I was introduced to *friend* Samson. Anxious to have his book praised in Browns Magazine he made his remarks and enquiries all tending to that point, but accompanied with a truly quaker self-sufficiency. I do not know wether you know what I mean, but I think there is a kind of priggish self-full smiling impudence, which is peculiar to the vain of that sect. Such a one is friend Samson. He is large, florid, healthfull, rich, has travel'd in England France & Italy; talks of Authors and Artists; has a collection of pictures; and is any thing but a wit, a Connoisseur, or a gentleman. perhaps I am too severe. it is best to believe I am. Brown carried me to see his collection of pictures. The best is a small picture about 2 foot by 1, said to be by Reubens. I never saw anything so small by Reubens. Be it whose it may it is very fine. The subject, Christ paying the tribute money, "Give (or render) unto Ceaser that which is Ceasers." He has a Magdalen said to be by Guido and some sea pieces & Landscapes.

[Benjamin] Trot[t], finds sufficient employment here,

& has raised his price from 30 to 40 doll^{s}. he is a man of genious, with excentricities; has misspent much of his time, but is now inclined to make the most of the remainder; he has shown me some little things, since I have been here, of consequence in the mechanical, or preparatory part of the art.

This stormy day, the first snow we have seen I have pass'd, in steadily painting. Beginning a portrait of Mrs. Brown, and finishing one of Jefferson. I find it necessary to destroy the one I painted of Mrs. B in July last, as you may suppose. The one I have begun is, in comparison, *light* to *utter darkness.*

Tuesday [Jan.] 7th

I have painted stedily to day without going out of the house the streets being very wet. The evening has passed in playing Backgammon with Charles, and reading *Anquitil's Lewis 14th* a very entertaining and most valuable book. There is a vast display of nature both in her hideous & amiable forms. The intrigues of an intriguing Court & the characters of Fenelon & his pupil the Duke of Burgundy Lewis's grandson. The Authors principally quoted are St Simon & Madame de Maintenon, the first is remarkable for his talent of drawing characters. Maintenon's letters must be well worth reading. There is every reason to believe that she was married to Lewis & it is certain she was a great nay a good woman. But "what is Hecuba to you or you to Hecuba"?

With all love, good. my next from Baltimore

W D

Phil Jan^{y} 9th 1806 Friday [*sic*]

Here I am my dear wife. And now for the why and the wherefore. After sending off my last letter Harwood called to tell me that Mrs. Jos Clay wished to sit for hir picture to send to hir husband who is in Congress. Of course my Washington's head was laid by and yesterday I began the picture at Mr Curtis Clays where to day I shall continue to work at it & to morrow finish it. I shall therefore remain here at least until monday.

I have taken my usual early walk to the Shuylkill this morning which I found frozen completely over. Winter has at length mounted his throne but I hope his reign will not be long. He has cast his white robe o'er his shoulders and shook his glassy sceptre over us in terrorum. I hate him heartily.

The good Citizens of this place are giving dinners to the Moreaus, Eatons & Decaturs. I see by a news paper that Capt Bainbridge was at one given to Decatur, and is enumerated among the guests. It has not been my lot to meet him any where. I have made three efforts to see Mrs Levy [?] but have been unsuccessfull. Last evening Harwood had a party of musical people of the Theater to commemorate his wedding day; I was with them untill a very late supper and then ran away for the party was not musical to me.

I hope to recieve another letter from you while I am here. pray take care to get plenty of wood & every thing that is within reach that is good and comfortable. With love to our mother and daughter. Adieu

W D

Phil Jan^{y} 14th 1806

My dear Bess

I rec^{d} yours of Saturday yesterday. I lament the situation of the family you allude to I see not where there misery is to terminate.

I have finished Mrs Clays picture and shall be on my way to Baltimore when you recieve this. The account of my labours here stands thus

Mrs Wignels Child...	25	A Washington sent to New York to sell...	20
A copy begun to finish on my return	25	D° much superior for which I would not take	30
Mr C Clay	20		50
Mrs J Clay	20		
Mrs Crosskeys	20		

$100 certain
50 uncertain

Heads of Mrs Wignell Mr Harwood Mr Jefferson for myself

Half length of Mrs Harwood to be carried to Washington & exhibited, but ultimately to be presented to Harwood

Head of Mrs Brown for hir husband

And all this done in less than 5 weeks at a season when the days are at the shortest

I have recieved a letter from John the composition very respectable, the hand writing not so mutch improved as I expected.

I dined on saturday at Conrads with a party of *literati.* Fessendon [44] (the auther of Tractoration), Denny,[45] Mr John Vaughan (member of the philisophical Society of this place) Doctor [Nathaniel] Chapman (one of the founders of the Edinburg review) Brown and myself. Fessendon is a huge heavy fellow as big as Coll Humphrey's, with features as heavy as his person, and an address rather awkward; but his conversation, tho' fabricated *a la yankee* is agreable & evinces an amiable disposition. He is a mechanical as well as a poetical genius, and when in England was concerned in erecting floating mills upon the Thames, similer to those used in France and Germany. Denny is a small, neat man, an entire contrast in appearance and manner to the foregoing. He appears to be about 45 years old & is well bespater'd with grey hairs. Tho' a Masacusets man he has freed his conversation from yankeeism's, and speaks with as much facility and correctness as he writes. He is polite in his address, attentive to the etiquette of conversation and studious so to suit it to those with him as to elicit those sparks which might other wise lie dormant. with all this, I confess I did not hear those brilliant things which I

[44] Thomas Green Fessenden, author of *Terrible Tractoration, a poetical petition against galvanizing trumpery* . . by "Christopher Caustic", London, 1803; N. Y., 1804.

[45] Joseph Dennie, editor of a weekly magazine published in Philadelphia, called *The Port Folio.*

expected from the mouth of the editor of the portfolio. Mr Vaughan, talked much & sensibly but not profoundly.

Doctor Chapman has an agreable intelligint countinance & speaks with precision and elegance, but is not fluent, owing, as it appears, to some defect of the palate or other organ of speech. Brown tells me, he wrote the criticism on John Davis's travels, which pleased us so much last winter.

The winter has broke up with us, and I suppose the Ice of the Deleware is sunk by the rain of last night. Added to all my antipathies against cold, I was very anxious on account of Armet Brown who has a ship laden and ready to sail, which if not liberated from the Deleware would have proved a great loss to him.

Our friends in this house are well. They have repeatedly desired their remembrances to you. The boys continue to grow and to crow & to be beauties. Adieu with love to mother and Mag, who I suppose laments the flight of the snow.

I am glad you mention'd the little dutchman, who is in my feelings, a part of the family.

W D

Phil Jan^{y} 17th

Still in Philidelphia, my dear Bess, but positively to leave it to morrow at 8 OClock. After dispatching my [blank] I sat down to put a finishing hand to my Washington, when behold, his black velvet coat was pealing off from the ivory and all in holes & patches, I am obliged to give him an entire new one. Then came on snow and frost so intense as to make me congratulate myself that I was by a friendly fireside. Yesterday was an excessive severe day. The water froze in my pencil, not two yards from the fire, so that several times when I attempted to put colour to the ivory, it was mingled with icy christals. This morning is milder, I have been to the Deleware supposing it frozen over; but it was free, and the warmth of the sun at 8 OClock promised that it will continue so.

I thought yesterday of your Behama neighbours. Imagination brought their shivering figures before me; but it reminded me that you might be shivering too; for I fear you cannot keep your large open appartment warm.

In Philidelphia, where the emancipation of the Blacks originated there are more free people of that colour than in any other place in the union. Most of them are degraded & vicious but there are many useful and respectable. They are hired servants by the month, Cooks for occasional dinners or parties; Waiters of the same discription; Mechanics; (one in particular a rich sail maker, having many journimen & apprentices under him) and one Clergiman. I have seen funeral processions led in solemn state by this black and all black gentlemen. Early associations made it appear ludicrous to me. It seem'd like mimicry. Some days ago, I cross'd the Skuylkill at the great bridge and walk'd along the bank to the upper floating bridge, above or north of the City. In the way I pass'd unexpectedly through a rural cemetary beautifully situated, on a spot more suited to the living than the dead. I soon found that It was a place of rest for the children of Africa, and read the following Epitaph.

To the membory of —— who departed dis life —— eage ——

From this you may infer that in addition to my list, there [are] black teachers of orthography & black manufacturers of tombstones.

Adieu my dear Bess, with all love to those around you.

W D

Baltimore Jan^{y} 20th

I am now 104 miles further from you than when I last wrote & in health and full imployment.

On friday evening I left our friend's and lodged at the stage house to be ready for starting. Next morning, after breakfast, wrapt up in my great cloak & my feet guarded by my mockasons I left penns City for an untried route. My companions were a tall scotsman and a short scotsman, two frenchman, the one a giant the other a de-

formed dwarf, a little frenchwoman, the wife of the latter, and a little *Fiddy* lap dog.

The heart of the woman was in possession of the lap dog, and the occupation of hir Husband was to nurse its possessor.

After passing the villages of Darby & Chester, we entred Deleware State and arrived at Wilmington. This town has nothing of the neat & handsome style of the northern & eastern villages. It is little more than one long street on the declivity of a slope, at the extremity of which is Christiana or Christine Creek, which runs into the Deleware.

Shut up in a close carriage one gains little knowledge of a country by passing through it expecially at this dreary season. at a village called Newport we dined. About 10 OClock we arrived at the Susquehana, which is here a mile in width. It was hard frozen, and we crossed on foot, our baggage being drawn over in a sleigh by negroes. This passage and the detention of supping made it 12 OClock before we left the banks of the river. The night was by no means severe and occasionally it snow'd. It was daylight before we reached Baltimore. The country in the neighbourhood is rude & presents none of those appearances which usually indicate the vicinity of a City. About 9 OClock we were set down at the Stage house in Baltimore.

After cleaning and breakfasting, I sallied fourth to view the town whose first appearance is by no means agreable, but I must have further opportunities of seeing & judging before I attempt a discription of the Capital of Maryland.

Having been recommended by Mrs. Wignel, to Briden, the keeper of the Fountain Inn and Coffee house, I sought him and took up my abode with him, having a convenient room appropriated for painting. Before I went to bed for the first time in Baltimore I had two pictures engaged, Mr. Briden's and Mr. Jenning's. This morning Mr. Jennings sat to me & I have worked all day, having promised to finish the likeness by tomorrow night.

I recieved your letter dated 16th at the post office & was recognized as an old acquaintance by the post master Charles Burrell.

Your letter has made me quite melancholy. But the severe wether I hope is over, and I hope we shall have no more long seperations. It is a subject I wish to avoid—it is useless to dwell upon it.

I am here utterly alone. As soon as I can I will seek Elijah Rattoone. In a few days I will write again & fully as to my situation & prospects. Divide my love with Mag and my mother. Adieu

William Dunlap

Baltimore Jan^{y} 25th 1806

My dearest Bess.

I have recieved yours of last Sunday & tuesday. You before this have mine with the information of my arrival in this place. Monday Tuesday & Wednesday were employ'd in painting a picture, for which I have recieved the money.

Wednesday evening I drank tea with Mrs. Rattoon. during a part of the time, the *Doctor* was out, and she introduced the subject of his troubles in this place, which, whether, I ever heard of them or not, were quite new to me. Reports have been spread very much to the detriment of his character; which reports she attributes to the ill will of your old acquaintance Doctor Behn. Such however was the dissatisfaction of part of the Episcopal congregation that Docter R. thought proper to resign his situation, and intended to leave Baltimore but his friends insisted upon his remaining and Mrs. R. says, a church is to be built for him. I have since heard Docter R. spoken very hardly of in publick and it seems the spirit of Division runs high in the church.

Young [James] Inglis of N. Y. son to the china dealer, is settled here in the presbyterian Church, & it seems that on his introduction a schism took place & another Church was built.

The Winter appears to have flown. It is here like spring

MARGARET DUNLAP (1791-1837)

By William Dunlap

(Courtesy of Mrs. William Tidball)

& I presume is so with you, for when I came here I found as much snow & ice as I left in philidelphia: I therefore presume that when it is cold here it is cold at Amboy and *vice versa.*

The Man of the house Mr. James Bryden & his wife have both sat to me for their pictures, and I understand I am to paint their daughter Mrs Behn, wife of a german Merchant now absent, but the last mentioned is not yet engaged. I have two pictures allready engaged for Washington City when I shall arrive there, a Mr. & Mrs. [Charles] Love.

I have subscription papers out here, what will be the result, I cannot say. I have employ'd a man to collect names on the same terms as at Philidelphia, I am now certain of publishing the first Volume if no more and shall make preparations on my return to philidelphia.

I drank tea again last evening at Mrs. Rattoons, where in the conversation of Mrs. R. & Miss Bull, a fine old lady, I find something approaching to what I love most.

Your last excited a variety of sensations, but upon the whole pleasure predominated, I hope my mother may continue to find the winter a favorable one to her health. Mag does not presume to neglect the copying I prescribed for her. I feel grateful to everybody that contributes to your amusement. Tell Theodosia that if she continues good she shall still call me father.

In my next I shall attempt some discription of this very thriving city. I have as yet but a superficial knowledge of it. I fear the house I am in is a expensive one, but the people seem anxious to employ and throw imployment in my way. it is probably better than a cheaper and more obscure situation.

Adieu my dear Good night.

W D

Baltimore Jan^{y} 29th 1806

My dearest Bess

It was my intention to have written you a long journalizing letter to morrow, and it has but now occur'd to

me that if I do not put a line in the Office tonight you will not hear from me until next tuesday, I therefore merely sit down to say I am well, that I may go & deposit my letter before I go to bed.

I am painting on my fourth picture; after finishing which say next Sunday I shall go on to Washington which is but 45 Miles further; a short days ride.

Direct your next of course to the post office at that place.

I am very weary of this place. I am very weary of my days work & the lack of faces in which I can take intrest. Good night. I had better seek rest that weary my self with telling you that I am weary. Adieu.

W D

Baltimore Feb^{y} 1st 1806

My dear Bess.

I shall leave this place tomorrow after two weeks residence, which has enabled me to form a pretty accurate estimate of the town & its inhabitants as compared to other City's of the United States.

Baltimore, so called from the first proprietor Cecilus Calvert, Lord Baltimore, is situated about 200 miles from the Atlantic Ocean almost at the head of the great bay of Chesapeak, and near the mouth of the river patapsco. The State of Maryland is divided into Eastern & Western by the Chesapeak and is watered by the streams which flow into it, among the largest is the susquehannah, flowing from the north & which I cross'd in coming hither, and the patowmac from the west, having its source in Virginia & dividing the two states. Among the smaller is found the patapsco which flowing from the west falls into the Chesapeak to the southward of Baltimore which is built round a bason made by an inlet from the river thus.

[Space left blank. Margaret did not copy her father's map.]

The length of the town from Fells point quite around the bason is about 3 miles; its breadth irregular. It has

had the most rapid growth of any place on the continent and ranks as the fourth in size and third in commercial consequence in the United States.

Annapolis, nominally the capital of the state, is 30 miles to the Southward and is as rapidly declining as Baltimore is increasing. Fells point is the place where the shipping lie and are built, and is of course the rendezvous of Sailors and those that live by their vices. Though it is regularly laid out, it is with the exception of a few houses, a mass of wretchedness and infamy; yet through this medium flows the commercial wealth of Maryland and part of Virginia. Is not such the channel of all commercial wealth? Next to fells point comes Old town the original Baltimore, divided from the remaining and principle part of the City, by the mouth of a stream, call'd Jones's Falls, over which are several bridges. From Old town, proceading west, we enter the main or Baltimore Street, which is the seat of the retail trade of the town, is spacious, and the greater part well built; it is parelel with the head of the bason & is cross'd at right angles by streets running to the water. The present direction of the growth of the City appears to be westward. In that quarter is the market for produce which is brought in cover'd waggons, as in philidelphia, but with very inferior teams. The horses are generally small and driven 2 abreast: 4 to each team. Trucks are used for the transportation of goods, Hackney Coaches are used here more than any where on the Continent except Boston.

Of the publick buildings I can say little & I believe little is to be said places of Worship are numerous for the size of the place but none remarkable for size of structure. The Court house is a wretched old building, standing in the center of a street, with an arch'd gangway under it beautiful by a pillory and whipping post. The dansing assembly room or house, is the handsomest building in the place and the proprietors have allotted a lower [*sic*] in it to the City Library company: thus literature is kept in due subordination to dancing & card

playing. This observation leads me to manners, which are such as might be expected in a society formed of commercial adventurers from all nations and in which slavery exists on the old colonial establishment. I have seen several counting houses open on sunday with the clarks at work; & Billiard tables publicky notefied by sign boards. From the first I onely infer that less attention is paid to appearances here than to the northward; & from the second that gambling is not in such *general* disrepute. A *Raffle* was held at the house I live in some days ago and many of the first merchants of the place mingled in attendance with professed gamesters & surrounded the table. Some watches & a clock were raffled for; which done, the company threw the dice for money until 2 OClock in the morning. An informer, however was present, and all gameing or betting above 5 doll[s] being prohibited by law of the corporation, these *gentlemen* had the mortification of appearing as culprits before the Mayor & recieving sentence of punishment by fine.

Having yesterday finished my painting, I walked in the afternoon to the Fort [McHenry] which commands the entrance of the harbour or bason of Baltimore. It is three miles from the town on a neck of land formed by the inlet (the head of which is the bason) on one side and the petapsco on the other. As you go to the Fort, on the left is a promontory which overlooks the town, the harbour and entrance south of the bason and the river On this height is a house called the observatory where signals are made of the approach of vessels as at the narrows of N. Y. Harbour. The Fort is at the extreme point of the neck, and is a strong fortress with brick walls surmounted by earth and garrison'd at present by a captains guard. The barracks are within the walls and could contain some hundred of soldiers. A battery is below the Fort at the edge of the water, which was formerly the only defence of the harbour, until the United States erected the present fortress.

I may have mentioned in a former letter the unimproved appearance of the country in the vicinity of this

place, as we approached from philidelphia no cultivation; no country seats. But on the other side of the town and on the banks of the patapsco are many delightful villa's and snug retreats, with all the attention to decoration and delight which is usual in the neighbourhood of populous towns.

I pass'd an hour to day in the Library, which tho' small is well chosen and well arranged. My attention was principally taken up with a view of Modern Rome: another of St. Peters, and the Vatican: and a third of the inside of St. Peters. The two last well design'd and engraved.

Doctor R. has just left me. He says the subscription, is open for building him a church & filling very fast. He talks freely against his enemies & ascribes his persecution to envy of his popularity.

Groomrich is here. I called to see him and he return'd my call. He talks as much as ever and Correggio & Reubens, Titian & Claude, Vandyke & Kneller, roll off his tongue with the rapidity & incessancy of a Mill torrent. He show'd me a few good pictures; One by Sir James Thornhill (Hogaths farther in law) one by Kneller and one (perhaps) Vanduke, with two Landscapes by Italian masters, whose names I cannot recolect.

Adieu. my best love attends you and those with you ever.

W D

Washington Feb^{y} 5th [1806]

My dearest Bess

Here I am safe and well and employ'd in painting in Georgetown near Washington owing to which I have seen nobody I know. I write this in the most hurried manner that I may walk up to Washington and see Mitchill [46] & others, at a season of the day when I cannot work.

I recieved yours of the 1st this morning by walking 2 miles for it and must do the same to deposit this.

Adieu

W D

[46] Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill was a U. S. Senator from New York, 1804-1809.

Washington Feb^{y} 6th

My dear Bess

My last was mearly intended to prevent your unesiness from not hearing of my arrival. I now sit down to communicate, what if, known before I could have given you full information would have caused you much uneasiness. I was one General Heard's securities, and could not until this moment assure you or myself that I should not be prosecuted as such; but I am now assured that no steps shall be taken against me. I have this morning seen Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, respecting my situation, and recieved his directions how to act, in preasance of Mitchell, who introduced me. Mr. Gallatin has full power in the case. As to Heard, he is removed, and will be prosecuted and I presume (if not able to pay arrears) imprison'd, from which situation nothing but an act of Congress can relieve him.

You will perhaps feel hurt that I have not communicated the circumstance of my suretyship to you. When I first became Gen^{l} Heards security, I thought it but a form; it almost pass'd from my mind, and when it was brought back with some apprehensions of danger, the disorder & intricacies of my affairs, and the certainty of bankruptcy again drove it away. After I had become insolvent, I wrote to Doctor Mitchel and stated my insufficiency to be a surety to the Government, which letter he inclosed to Mr. Gallatin and assured me that other surety would be demanded of Heard, and that I should probably hear no more of the matter. Though I felt in some measure secure in these assurences I dared not mention the circumstances to you as I knew your apprehensions would be a source of torture. Heard never gave me a hint that he was in arrears, and I long flatter'd myself, that some other surety had been demanded & given. I had likewise determined upon visiting Washington and knew I could then gain information of the real state of the business. Heards arrears are $3455 so that if I had not been brought to insolvency by my own misfortunes I should have had now to undergo all its horrors, for the

misfortunes or misconduct of another. As it is, I am but as I was. I seize the first moment after my interview with Mr. Gallatin to disburthen my mind and to make you secure against the circumstance of accidentally hearing that I was one of the miserable man's suretys. Now you must forgive me for having risqued property, when I had it, by becoming any persons bondsman; and for having, out of tenderness for you, kept the transaction from your knowledge until I could tell the event of it: and then I shall feel perfectly reliev'd.

Feb^{y} 8th My journy hither was performed with little fatigue, on monday last, and though it rain'd and the roads were heavy we came the 45 miles from Baltimore to George town between the hours of 6 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon. The country is poor through which I pass'd. There is said to be but one good farm from Baltimore to Washington: that is after passing the immediate vicinity of the first. About 7 miles riding brought us to a ferry over the patapsco, passed in a scow guided by a rope drawn tight to stakes on either side. Five miles from Washington we cross'd the eastern branch of the patowmac, at Bladensburgh, a poor Village once of some trade. The river is here a mere mill stream, at Washington 74 gun ships ride in security. On entring the City of Washington from the north or east the first object is the Capitol which when finished will be an immense and superb building; One wing is now finished and another carried up but not cover'd in. In the finished part Congress sits. A few houses appear near the Capitol but when you arrive at the summit of the hill on which it stands, you see all that is built of the City particularly the publick & private buildings streaching along at intervals 3 Miles to George town, which is likewise seen from this spot. I went directly to the latter place as being the residence of the gentleman who had engaged my pencil at Baltimore.

I put up at McGlaughlin's hotel, George town, where many members of Congress reside from the scantiness of

accomodations at Washington & are convey'd backwards and forwards by *Hacks* which makes the *Pensylvania Avenue* (for so the road or street from George town to the Capitol is call'd) very lively. This road is a finished turnpike road with good foot paths or side walk, and planted with double rows of poplers. On tuesday I found Mr. Love, and began to paint. In the afternoon sought Mitchill, but he was out. I found Miss Templeton at Mr. Smith's the printer of the ministerial gazette [47] but as she was engaged to a party at Mr. Madisons, I return'd to George town to tea.

Wednesday afternoon I found Mitchil and made the appointment with him to see Mr. Gallatin the next morning the result of which visit I have already mentioned.

I would have you take no notice of Heards business whatever. I think I shall by this post write him, not to mention my arrangements or situation arrising from my previous insolvency, but to know his statement of his accounts & what resources he has for deminishing the debt, though I presume he has none.

Continue to direct to me post office Washington, as it is probable I shall remove to that City in a few days where I can board about as low as any where else. I cannot well raise the price of my pictures as I intended I fear it would prevent employment & Mr. Love having engaged at Baltimore at 20 doll[s] had mention'd my price as such. I have another picture bespoken and more talked of.

The first part of this letter was written on the Capitol hill at the quarters of our Connecticut friends with whom I dined that day and after passing part of the evening at Mitchills quarters among the oposite party walk'd to George town to rest.

with all love to you and yours

W D

[47] The *Universal Gazette* was published in Washington, D. C., by Samuel Harrison Smith, 1800-1810. Brigham, "Bibliography of American Newspapers", in *Proc. American Antiquarian Society,* new ser., XXIII, 367, (Oct., 1913).

Washington (George town) Feb^{y} 9th Sunday
My dear Wife

This is a cold day and makes me think that you must have a return of winter with you. I have just return'd from a walk of 3 miles up the western branch of the potomac the scenery of which must be in summer extremely beautiful. Near George town is a cannon foundery [48] belonging to a methodist preacher of the name of Foxhall A whimsical combination of employments, Casting Cannon & preaching the Gospel—and casting Cannon at preasant for the Dey of Algiers.

About three miles up the river is the lesser falls of the potomac which have rendred a Canal and locks necessary. I never saw the mode of lock navigation before.

An Encyclopedia can better discribe the mode of passing boats through the locks than I can. Fifteen miles up the river I am told are the great falls and locks. By means of these produce is brought 150 or 200 miles to George town & Alexandria, which last town is 5 miles lower down the river than this place. Washington is situated in the fork made by the East & west branches of the patomac; a small stream runing through it formally called Goose creek, now the *Tiber* as it leves the foot of the capitol hill. This stream falls into the potomac about a mile and a half from the Capitol, oposite the presidents house & the publick Offices, and makes the scene very picturesque. the point made by its joining the great river reminded me of the point of Statin Island opposite to Amboy another small stream divides Washington from George town & is call'd Rock Creek; several bridges over it make communication easy. This last stream is the seat of many mills & its high banks afford pleasant scites for a number of Gentlemens villa's.

The situation of Washington is certainly very fine, but it has long been ascertain'd that people cannot live much less grow rich upon prospects, and the prospect of future

[48] The Columbian Foundry, established by Henry Foxall. See Madison Davis, "The Old Cannon Foundry above Georgetown, D. C. and its first owner, Henry Foxall", in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society,* (1908), XI, 16-70.

prosperity has not been strong enough to keep those mechanics as inhabitants who first remov'd to the City at its foundation. No houses are building; those already built are not finish'd and many are falling rapidly to decay. I believe there is not a knocker or bell to any door in Washington. It reminds me of the Cities founded by Catherine 2d in Russia; tho' it is not so bad as some of hers with houses and no inhabitants & others which exist merely in name & on the map. The shops and Stores which supply the inhabitants of Washington are principally in George town.

Feb^{y} 12th 1806 I am still in George town and have been for some days at the house of Mr. Charles Love for whom I am painting 2 pictures. I am in the family of *Love*. Certainly I am in a family of kindness & hospitality. Mr. & Mrs. Easton are next door neighbours and have been in to see me. He writes in one of the publick offices. She made many enquiries concerning her old acquaintances in Amboy & seam'd fond of the subject. She remembred and reminded me of Dangle's designating her as the "woman that talk'd night and day."

I have called at the post office Washington several times in hopes of a second letter, but in vain. I hope when I deposit this to find one. Until I leve George town I shall not be able to do anything with my subscription, tho' I will try & make arrangements this afternoon for seeing the president.

Adieu my dear. with love to our Mother & daughter

W D

[At this point the handwriting changes. Evidently Margaret stopped copying her father's letters, and the following were transcribed by a more mature and experienced hand.]

Washington Feb^{y} 13

Never, never, my dear Bess, will I be seperated in this manner from you again. I endeavor to console myself by imagining the pleasure of my return home, but all in vain. Neither does the number of Men, I see around me, who are absent from their homes their wifes & families,

give me any consolation; tho it is generally supposed that fellowship in suffering lightens pain. Mitchell says he writes to his wife every day. It may be so for the members of Congress have not only opportunity but temptation for letter writing. They are seated with each one his pen ink & paper before him, & while one idle fellow is idly talking upon an idle subject, the rest who must sit, to avoid hearing him & fill up the time write letters.

I have drank tea with Miss Templeton & as you may possibly feel some curiosity respecting the *illustrious* Ambassadors from the Osages & Tunisians I will give you her account of their appearance at the City Dancing Assembly. The Indians, dressed as they commonly are among the Whites, that is in Cloth Coats & pantaloons, with their national ornaments were seated at one end of the Room. The Turk a handsome old man, with a white beard, superbly dressed & attended by his two secretaries both richly vested in the Oriental style, placed himself opposite the Osages & thro the medium of their interpreter, in the French Language, put various questions to them in this manner. Do you believe in Jesus Christ? No, dont know him. Do you believe in Mahomet? No dont know him. Are you descended from Ham, Shem or Japhet? Dont know them. The Turk then remarked that their Heads were shaved in the manner of his own, that is, all off except on the top; & that they resembled the Bedouin Arabs. He then asked one of the Osages if they had such handsome women among them as the ladies present. The savage replied "yes, But not so handsomely dress" & retorted the question to the Tunisian, who smiling & turning to the ladies, said, "they, the disciples of Mahomet, were promised such beauties in paradise." You see by this that his Tunisian Excellency is a polished courtier: Yet so little has he of diplomatic Dignity that he is a vender of Otto of Roses (& other knic knacks) which his secretaries sell at $.50 per phial. He has dismissed one of his Attendants for striking an insolent blackguard Barber of the city, & before sending him off, bastinadoed & requested to know of the Secre-

tary of State whether he wish'd him put to Death as he was impowered (& I suppose perfectly willing) to take his life.

Mrs. Smith,[49] with whom Miss T stays was a Miss Bayard of N. Brunswick. She is clever, but very sentimental. Her husband is a little man & reminds one of C B B, but Brown has I think the air of a Philosopher, while S. looks like a Monkey turn'd Barber.

Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury is a thin man about my height or taller, with dark hair, coarse & bushy, yellow complexion, long nose, hideous mouth & teeth, but a black, intelligent & piercing eye. The day I called upon him with Mitchell about Heards affairs, he was somewhat disturbed by the news of the sailing of the Leander from New York with men & arms and a clandestine expedition under General Miranda, supposed to be against the Caraccas. Being a Genevese his native language is French, but he speaks English, with great correctness altho with a Foreign Idiom. That same day I saw the Vice president [George Clinton] in the senate chamber; he said he should be glad to see me at his house: but I have not been. I attended the congressional debates one morning, but was heartily tired. Randolph who is almost an Orator in the House of Representatives did not speak, those who did were miserable animals. You can scarcely conceive any thing so mean, as connected with a great national Assembly.

Feb^{y} 15th

I see Mrs. Eston daily. The day before yesterday, I drank tea with her. He has very politely invited me to stay at his house, but I must take a room in the City or I shall do nothing. I am now without employ—happily for some days, I have been without expense. Mr. Joseph Clay, member for Philadelphia called upon me with a polite letter from Mrs. Harwood, enclosing an introduc-

[49] Margaret (Bayard) Smith, daughter of Col. John Bayard and wife of Samuel Harrison Smith (founder of *The National Intelligencer*.) Her letters were printed in 1906, with the title *The First Forty Years of Washington Society,* edited by Gaillard Hunt.

tory letter to Mrs. Madison, wife of the Secretary of state & leader of every thing fashionable in Washington. This letter I yesterday delivered & was very politely received by the Lady, who is a fine Woman & a handsome woman, tho not a young woman. She advised my removal from Georgetown to Washington, expressed her wish to have Mr. Madison's picture (who was not at home) show'd me Stewarts pictures of Messrs. Washington, Jefferson, Madison & herself & invited me to call upon her with Mrs. Harwoods picture.

On my way back to George town I called on Mr. & Mrs. [Joel] Barlow, who appear very friendly indeed. She spoke much of you of your Mama & of your poor Brother John of whom she speaks with gratitude & the affection of a sister. She expresses a strong wish to see you & desires her love & remembrance. He appears to be a very clever man; plain, frank & intelligent. He show'd me some proofs of plates which are engraving in London for a superb edition of his Columbus. I call it Columbus tho he says it is so altered as to be an entire new work. It is to be printed in Philadelphia

I rec'd yesterday your short answer to my short letter on my arrival here. I have neglected poor John but will not continue so to do. I am glad to hear of him what you communicate. How is it for money with you? had I not better pay your postages too? Adieu.

Washington Feb^{y} 17th

After being really oppressed by a sultry atmosphere, behold to day, a thorough tho not a very cold snow storm. In my last I mentioned a visit to Mr. & Mrs. Barlow—a few more words of them before I take another subject. They had been intimate at Mr. West's & among other anecdotes relative to him Mr. B. told one in which Stewart was concerned which mark the unhappy connection in this instance of talents & turpitude. S. professing great esteem & much gratitude for Mr. and Mrs. West, painted a very fine portrait of the former & presented it to the latter. The picture was much admired & highly

valued. Not long before leaving England, S pretending a wish to alter or more highly to finish some part, prevailed upon Mrs. West to send it to his rooms, & immediately sold & delivered it to Alderman Boydel, who supposed it his property. S went off & West almost by force recovered the picture. In Dublin this same eccentric & immoral Artist being lodged in Jail for Debt, began the pictures of a great many nobles & others, receiving the half price at the first sitting, & after thus getting enough to release himself, mov'd off, & left their Irish lords imprison'd in effigy.

[Feb.] 18th I rec'd yours to day in which you *lash me.* Well! I kiss the rod. With it I rec'd a letter from the miserable Heard, showing some agitation & a hope that by promises his fate may be averted. Alas it is too late. He has been a week removed & I suppose by this time, his successor Manning has received his Commision. Tho' it snowed all yesterday, the ground is already naked & the temperature mild & benignant. *Tomorrow* I am to quit the family of Love. Love is here eternally present to the sight & hearing. Every spoon, every towel, sheet & pillow case is marked with Love. But it is not *my* love. After some Difficulties, & various walks to the City, I have hired a Room at a Hotel, not finding one at a private House to suit. I am to pay $10 per Week, for lodging, boarding, fire & Candle, having a Chamber to myself.

Feb^{y} 19th This is my Birth Day. I am forty years old & you are thirty seven. Here is a theme for reflection, but I will confine my speculations to this, we are both well & I am wiser than I was. I am just settled in my new habitation, at Semmes's Hotel, City of Washington. From the Window where I am writing, I see the Capitol at two Miles distance, towering like some antique Ruin, & wanting nothing but some Colossal columns with their heads at their feet, to remind one of Rome or Persepolis. On Monday I sent Mrs. Harwoods picture to Mrs. Madison & received her compliments, thanks & assurances that

it was very like. I have this morning called upon her a second time & taken away the picture. Nothing more was said of Madison's miniature being wanted. She said she had mentioned me to Mr. Jefferson & his daughter. I requested permission to copy Mr. Jefferson's picture by Stewart & Mr. Madison's; which was obligingly granted & the first immediately sent to me.

This day is sultry. The frogs have already commenced their town meetings, tho their Orators do not yet exert their throats to their full extent.

I was interrupted by a call to dinner. This is the land of Hog, homminey & hoe-cake. At the public houses they have homminey at Breakfast, homminey at Dinner & homminey at Supper, at Mr. Love's we had usually three kinds of Bread at Breakfast & tea (or supper) Vizt Bakers (& often 2 kinds of that) Hot biscuit home made & hoe cake (or as they call it Corn bread) The District of Columbia, a territory of 10 Miles square, or 100 square miles, comprehends a portion of two States, Maryland & Virginia, ceded to Congress, & placed under its peculiar government. to the North of the Potomac, in this district is Washington & Georgetown; to the south of it, Alexandria. The two first in Maryland the last in Virginia. From Rock hill, on the Banks of Rock Creek, just back of Georgetown, the three Cities, are in view at one time & make with the noble sheet of water which the Potomac here spreads a beautiful & magnificent prospect. The Potomac above George town soon dwindles & is interrupted by falls & the Navigation aided by locks, & at George town itself, the channel is injured by the deposits from the stream. To remedy this defect, the inhabitants by a stone dam have joined a pretty little Island of a mile & half in length, call'd Mason's Island to the mainland on the Virginia side, to reduce the waters to one channel with a view of deepening it & the hope of removing a Bar of sand which prevents ships from freely entering. This experiment will not receive its trial until the freshets when they expect the great flow of waters will wash away the Bar. In the mean time the people of

Georgetown are much alarmed & agitated by a project of throwing a bridge over the potomac, below them, rendering the communication between Washington & Alexandria more direct & shorter by 5 miles, and (as they fear) injuring still more the navigation of Georgetown.

Feb^{y} 20 I have mentioned that I yesterday heard the croaking of the Frogs for the first time; Mr. Jefferson informed me that he heard them 10 Days ago, & noted down the circumstance. Yes, I have seen, touched & heard the great man. A fresh sheet of paper must be devoted to him, & all he said & all he did. I this day began to copy Stewarts picture of him; so that my poor head is full of Jeffersons.

Saturday 22. I kept this till to day because by sending it one or even two days sooner, you would not gain time in the receit. I have one picture begun for pay. I have obtained the presidents name to my subscription. In my next perhaps I may guess the time I shall be on the return.

Adieu, with love to all with you.

Washington Feb^{y} 25

Thank you my dear Bess for your letter, with the detail of your family oeconomy & arrangements, I received on Saturday. I will now proceed to recount the wonders of Washington City. And first—Thomas Jefferson, is a tall man, say 6 feet & thin. His hair which has been red is now grey & is worn in negligent disorder, tho not ungracefully. His complexion is ruddy & his eye (a hazle) very animated. He converses with ease & vivacity, possessing true politeness, which places his guests perfectly at their ease. During the short period which we past with him, rendered shorter by the certainty of having interrupted him in study or Business (for he came into the room *en dishabille* & slippered) he talked of the early approach of spring, of gardening French & English, prefering the latter & praising their great taste in laying out their ground,

MRS. WILLIAM DUNLAP (ELIZABETH WOOLSEY) (1768-1848)
By William Dunlap
(Courtesy of Mrs. Henry McKeen Ferriday)

censuring Gen[l] Mason the proprietor of Mason's Island for the bad taste he had displayed in laying out that charming spot; Gardening led to notice of Mr. Parkins, an English gentleman residing in Virginia, an excellent Draftsman & skillful adept in disposing of pleasure grounds, this to painters &c.

I have been to visit a Chief of the Rickaraw Indians who was mentioned by Mr. Jefferson as an extraordinary man, speaking many Indian tongues & likewise conversing by signs. He has come to the seat of Government, from a distant part of the Louisiana territory—200 miles beyond the residence of any tribe that has yet had intercourse with us, this immense journey he undertook as a deputy from his nation & others, accompanied only by a French trader as an interpreter & guide. Mumford who had seen him before was the leader of Mitchill & myself. When we entered the house which is a boarding house appropriated to Indians, we found the interpreter, the Rickaraw & 2 or 3 Osages, in a small front room with the 2 matrasses & a Bear skin on the floor. The Osages went in & out the room during our stay or occasionally stretched on the floor. The interpreter entered into conversation with us in French. The great man was seated cross-legg'd on a mattrass scraping & cutting Guinea-hen feathers & did not deign to raise his eyes to us. His dress was a second hand blue, military coat, without facings, but with two large gold epaulets, a flannel shirt, dirty light colored pantaloons & shoes covered with mud of many days standing. He had rings in his ears & a blue cotton handkerchief, tied about his head in the French manner with a buckle disposed in the front. He is a large old man & nearly as dark as an American born negroe, but with light hazle colored [eyes]. His hair was covered by the handkerchief. After conversing some time with the Interpreter, Mitchell desired him to inform the Rickeraw that a Senator of the U. S. from the great City of N. York having heard that he was a learned traveller &c &c had come to see & become acquainted with him. This harangue the interpreter delivered in a loud & dis-

tinct voice & at great length. The learned savage continued during the whole solely occupied in cutting & trimming feathers, occasionally whistling in a whispering key as he attended to his work, & without once looking at us or appearing to hear the interpreter. The interpreter finished & the Rickeraw continued at his work. We concluded that he would take his own time & therefore turning from him entered again into conversaton with the Frenchman. By & by the old man smiled & made a sign to a young Indian who went out & brought him a pitcher of water. He then pointed to the litter he had made in cutting & the young man took it away. The Rickeraw now very deliberately put away his knife & work & began to prepare some tobacco for smoking. We continued to converse with the Frenchman. At length having prepared his pipe, lighted it, placed a chair in the middle of the room & seated himself, the chief appeared for the first time to notice us. Still he spoke not, but pulled from under his belt, or out of a pouch or pocket hanging in front, he pulled some papers & presented one of them to Mitchill who read it aloud. It was a certificate & recommendation from Gen[l] [William] Clark & Cap[t] Merriweather Lewis, the gentleman who has been for many months exploring that country by order of the president. When Mitchill in reading came to the Rickaraw's name, he gave an assenting gutteral sound the first he had uttered & so to the names of Clark & Lewis. The paper was returned & we shook hands with him. He then presented 3 pieces of paper, which joined lengthwise, presented a map of his rout, of his country, the course of the Missouri, the relative situations of a great many Indian nations, & Captain Lewis's encampment.

Feb[y] 26[th] Wedn[y]

I have just rec'd your letter of 22d & the tone of complaint in which it is written has changed the current of my Ideas too much for me to continue the foregoing subject. When I shall get home I do not know, when I shall leave this place I cannot yet tell. I must obtain

some leading names for my Book & it is a very uphill business. If it is best that my mothers furniture be removed to Amboy, I should suppose it may be done immediately. I see no prospect of using it in New York. I shall go there on my return & wish you to go thither likewise; & from thence with me to Philadelphia.

I calculate for you to receive this letter next saturday, & on that day I think I shall put a letter in the Office to tell the day of my leaving this place for Baltimore. It is not my intention to stop to paint in Philadelphia, but to do that work on my return thither with you. I enclose $10 for fear you should be short of Cash. With love to all, Adieu.

Washington Feb^{y} 28. 1806

My dear Bess

This is the last letter I hope that I shall write to you from this place. I begin a picture of Mr. Baldwin tomorrow which I will finish on Monday & leave W. on tuesday. If there is no work waiting for [me] at Baltimore, I shall be in Phil. on Friday. Here I must buy paper for the first volume of my work & set the press a going if it can be done without delay.

Continuation of the Rickeraw

Having displayed his map, he traced his rout with his finger, & by means of signs, sometimes explained by the Interpreter, he made us perfectly understand him. So expert are the western Indians in pantomime that we are told they sometimes hold council in which not a word is spoken. "Here" says he "is my country. Then he pointed out the situations of the neighboring tribes, recapitulating their names & marking by signs their distinguishing characteristics. Among the rest he named & described a nation of whites, with blue & grey eyes & light colored hair. This the interpreter corroborated. He traced his rout to the place where he met Cap^{n} Lewis. Then told us that he guided him westward & returned again with him. When in his rout he came to a village,

his sign for entering was, to raise the left hand & arch it, & then to pass the right hand with the fingers somewhat pointed under the arch, the back of the last touching the palm of the first. When he came to a mark of a River running into the great River—Missouri, he signified his crossing by the action of rowing. In this manner he marked the whole of his route, ending it by a rude figure signifying the presidents house in Washington; beyond which he had drawn a gun, a sword, powder, ball & tobacco as the presents he expected.

A part of the country on this side the Rickaraws, he described as volcanic, & near this burning soil, he had marked a cavern the properties of which partake of the marvellous. If a man was to be thrown in "says he by signs" he would be thrown out again by the force of the wind. Take a tree & throw it in, it will descend for some time & suddenly be tossed out, thrown into the air & scattered in pieces.

He had two other marvellous spots on his map & his account of them is in the true Mandevillian Style. The first is a lake in which a monstrous amphibious animal resides, with horns like a Cow &c & The second is likewise a lake, the waters of which have such an attractive relatively to stones, that all the stones for a certain distance around it have gradually forsaken their old beds & taken up their abode at the bottom of this lake. This must be all true for in the first place he saw the stones at the bottom of the lake, & in the second the Rickaraws never lie. His sign for speaking truth & the contrary is very expressive, he draws a line with his finger from his heart to his mouth & thence straight to the auditor or spectator; for falsehood the line comes crooked from any part of the Abdomen & on issuing from the lips, splits, diverges & crosses in every direction.

When he returns he says, all the natives around will assemble to hear his report; & what he sees & hears, he shall treasure up in his head & faithfully recount.

After a pretty long interview we shook hands & parted, much pleased with the novelty of the exhibition & the

animation & intelligence of the old savage, who compared to the stupid Indian of the North is a civilized man. Is it not probable that these Western & southern Indians retain more of the civilization of the Mexicans & Peruvians from whom all the tribes have originated, & that the farther others have wandered from the parent stocks the more they have brutalized.

I this day returned the presidents picture to Mrs. Madison, but did not see her as she was not well. I saw a swiss artist there an old man, who draws profiles on vellum very prettily in water color & pencil lines at $3.

Doctor [William] Thornton superintendent of the patent office has treated me politely & presented me with some pamphlets. The Doctor draws very well but he writes abominably. His lady [50] paints very prettily & is an accomplished woman.

This place has been from its commencement & still is the resort of speculators & projectors. It is absolutely melancholy to see the waste of labor & materials in this speculatively great city. It is a composition of disjointed members which are falling to decay, because removed from & disconnected with the heart. First round the unfinished capitol stand some good buildings finished & inhabited at least in winter. Then proceed a mile south is the navy yard & arsenal & a cluster of mean but inhabited buildings. A mile southwest of the Capitol is a row called the 20 Buildings left unfinished & without window sashes. A mile from these directly west is Greenleaf's point, near which are 40 houses, at least twenty of Brick, some inhabited but most unfinished & decaying. In a line West from the Capitol is the pensylvania avenue, a well finished road with houses scattered along it & terminated by the magnificent house of the president, on each side of which but at some distance, are two handsome Brick buildings in which the public offices are kept. I have hardly left room to say adieu

[50] Anna Maria (Brodeau) Thornton. Her diary, kept in Washington in 1800, is printed in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (1907) X, 88-226, from the Thornton MSS. in the Library of Congress.

Washington Feb^{y} 28 Continued.

Around these public buildings are various clusters of Houses, an unfinished brick church & the walls of an unfinished house. On one side of the Pensylvania avenue is an unfinished large hotel without window sashes. proceeding from the Presidents house to George town northwestwardly, we find disconnected Rows of houses in Brick which are inhabited, 4 6 & 7 together, designated the 6 Buildings &c. then comes a void of half a mile which brings you to Rock creek & Georgetown. The original speculators [51] [Robert] Morris, [John] Nicholson, [James] Greenleaf & [Samuel] Blodget, failed & left the master builders to pay their workmen as they could & abandon the work to decay. Still say existing speculators if the Canal navigation is continued from the lower falls of Potowmac to Greenleafs point, abandoning the River at the falls & thus making it safe for the Canal Boats, quite to the junction of the Eastern Branch of the River, Washington must become the depot of the Western produce & with Capitallists a great commercial place. It is like any thing else at present.

March 1st Saturday

Last night it froze with a high wind & to day it is very cold. on Thursday last it was not only like spring but summer. A gentleman told me that 20 miles from this his Peach Trees were all in Bloom. I should suppose the severity of the Frost would destroy the trees as well as the fruit. Blodget the speculator called on me to remind me of former acquaintance in London & New York & to make a long talk. He is an eternal proser. He has plan'd a great national University to be established here, the Colledges to be placed around a monument erected to the memory of Washington, that the students may have ever before their eyes the image of the founder of their Liberties. Congress are called upon to erect the

[51] For early land and building speculation in Washington, with accounts of these men, see W. B. Bryan, *A History of the National Capital* (N. Y., 1914) Vol. I.

Monument & the public at large to build & endow the Universities, subscriptions he says are already obtained for $18000 which as fast as received is placed at Compound Interest by being vested in Bank Stock, the Cashier of the National Bank, *ex officio,* being Treasurer. This is a great scheme but the man is a great Talker.

March 2d Paint on Mr. Baldwins picture. Walk for exercise to the Mouth of the Tiber. Write on my Comedy of the Father &c. which I have almost re-written. It is very cold.

Tuesday evening March 6

I have this evening, this moment arrived in Baltimore on my return home & my thought running before the clumsy Carriage tells me that if I do not put a line in the post office immediately, you will not receive it before Tuesday. Therefore I hasten with this Adieu

[At this point, the copying of his letters ended, and Dunlap himself resumed daily entries:]

Amboy July 3d 1806

I have long omitted journalizing. During this interval I have travelled a great deal between this place, New York & Philadelphia; let me endeavour to recollect the principal events of the period.

In passing thro' Phil: last March on my return home I only stop'd one day. On y^{e} 25th I again return'd to Phil: to paint some pictures & my wife & daughter went to New York. I remained at my friend C B B's 3 weeks. I at this time met Cooper and he inform'd me that J. K. Beekman had engaged to purchase the Theatre for him at $50,000, & to advance 15,000 for alterations or more if required. We talk'd over his plans & he proceeded to Charleston S. C. About the middle of April I rejoin'd my Wife at New York & we return'd hither the last of the Month, leaving the town in commotion about the death of John Pierce who was kill'd by a British Frigate at Sandy Hook. The purchase having been made by

Coopers friends I have communication with them & write to him. I return to N. Y. & stay a week & bring home my daughter & Maryann Woolsey. <*Go to Philadelphia about the middle of May and return'd the beginning of June (4th)*> Visit New York in consequence of a letter from Cooper dated 2d May from Charleston which see p: [blank] Was landed in consequence of Easterly storm at Eliz: point & walked to paulus hook the storm encreas'd & drench'd me in rain. Next day got to N. Y. where I attended to Cooper's wishes in respect to performers; and then went to Phil: supposing him to be in Baltimore. C B B's hospitable mansion is filled by N[athaniel G.] Ingraham, his wife & her sister Miss Phoenix. Examine the interior of Bank of pensylvania. Meet an old acquaintance at Hardy's where I lodge, in Thos Seaman. Return home June 4th. Visit N. Y. where I find [Edward G.] Malbone and receive some hints from him in Miniature painting. I[n] consequence of a letter from Cooper appointing me to meet him in Phil: Saturday June 21st I leave N. Y. on friday, & arrive next morning, we met, & I persuaded him of the necessity of his presence in N. Y. Sunday we leave Phil: & I arrive at Amboy Next Morning. Thursday next I join him at N. Y. and enter into the business of arranging his business anew. With great difficulty make Ciceri listen to staying with Cooper on Acc^{t} of C's having spoken to [John Joseph] Holland to direct the alterations. Mrs. Jones engages. Johnson & wife throw obstacles in the way & the negociation being broken off, C asks me to go to Phil: & see Mrs. E B Hamilton & if I think fit engage her. On the 30th June I set off & next morning saw the lady, in y^{e} evening heard her read & recite & next morning saw her again. I found her excessively vain, with some talents, a fine voice, and a good face, but without knowledge of the stage or of the necessary modulations to give effect to her voice, without feeling, with a clumsy person and an idea that if she appear'd on the boards all actors past present and to come would be eclipsed—and as to emolument 100 or 200 doll^{s} y^{e} week seemed to[o]

little. We parted & [I] return'd to Amboy arriving this morning, having written C an account of y^e^ failure of my mission. On y^e^ day of my arrival in Phil: I dined with [John] Watts, Denny's publisher, an Author, scholar & printer. Isaac Riley of N. Y. & Mr Meredith (I believe Wm) present. I made final arrangements for the publishing 1st Vol of my works. Cool day & afternoon rain.

July 4th. Very pleasant & cool. Walk up to the farm once mine now Aaron Bloodgood's & sell to Aa: B: an old sled $1, to James Compton An old Wheelbarrow & 2 Cart Wheels, to be valued according to the iron but not to be less than $2. Compton is likewise to have an Ox-chain at its worth. I saw some woodcocks in my walk but shot none. The Thrush, the robin & some smaller birds are still vocal.

Leave Amboy at 10 OClock & walk to Woodbridge to take the Mail Stage for N. Y. but it had already past. Sleep at Brown's tavern, finding my way to a bed chamber without being able to wake any body. ,

[July] 5th Take the stage at 6 & arrive in N. Y. at 11 OClock. Find Cooper at Hoggs and immediately go to work for him. During my absence it has been reported that I had sail'd for England, & my appearance is quite a cause for surprize.

[July] 6th Sunday. Breakfast with my son, at G M W's, whose family are at Phillipsburg. Call on W Johnson. C B B has return'd home.

[July] 7th Attending to business with Cooper Secure copy right to my work. Cooper offers & I accept a yearly salary of Three hundred pounds sterling e i 1312.50 doll^s^, and to secure me 400 doll^s^ from a benefit. Sleep at Osborne's on a sopha.

[July] 8th As yesterday. Write by Colemans desire to see if a place can be had at Compton's, Amboy, for Mrs. Jones. Visit Mrs. Morree, to talk of an engagement.

[July] 9th As yesterday employ'd. Mr & Mrs Johnson after having broke off are seeking their engagement. Even[g] at the Gardens or Summer Theatre. they play'd Animal Magnetism & sung some songs. About 300 people present.

[July] 10th C having insisted that Mrs Johnson should give a part of her business to a lady, if she comes from England, who was written for in consequence of <*their*> her refusal, she again refuses to engage, & he has let his house & taken passage for the family. Take a short ride with Cooper.

[July] 11th Friday. Finish & deliver to Mrs. Jones her picture. preparations are making to execute a man for murder. A regiment of militia are under arms. An execution is a very rare occurence here. I went near the County Gaol to see the crowds, it was an instructive spectacle. I am told the man Banks died with the most perfect composure & firmness—never changing countenance at any period of the preparation, & officiating to hook the rope himself.

[July] 12th Leave N Y with my son at ½ past 8 after breakfast at G M W. Read Miss Edgeworth's Leonora. "I fear I can give you but a birds eye view of this New Word tho' I would willingly dive deep enough to give you sometimes a fish eye view as somebody has express'd it e i a peep at the bottom." arrive at Amboy at ½ past 2.

[July] 13th Sunday. paint. Evening leave home; walk to Woodbridge & take the pilot stage & reach p: hook before 4 on y[e] 14th. Wait for ferry men. Get to bed at ½ past 5 in N. Y. arise at 8 & attend to business. Meet at 3 P M W W W & his Mother at G M W's & appoint to go with him to Bloomingdale this evening.

[July] 15th Return from Bloomingdale by ½ past 8 this morning. Write to the Palmers to send me on 400 Copies of first Volume. Make Call books for Cooper.

[July] 16th Attend to Cooper's business.

[July] 19th In the evening met Colman and walked with him to Mrs. Jones's where to our astonishment we found R. T. Paine. Coleman took his leave soon but Paine was pressing for an interview with him & they appointed an hour after. I soon retired & went in search of Cooper, whom I found & told the news to. C met P & then ran down to Hoggs & appointed to see Cooper at 9 next morning, & ran to Mrs Jones's to get the start of P whom he suspected of intending to return thither.

[July] 20th Sunday. C says he got into Mrs. J's house & had just time to extinguish the light & fasten the door when P. came, but finding all fast went off. C stay'd wth her, of course in the dark, until 12 OClock. Coleman details P's intentions to Cooper viz. to make Mrs. J. offers from Powel of 50 doll^{s} a week & endeavour to prevail upon Cooper to give her up, or at least to give up 1 or 2 years of her article. P: professes to have brought a lawyer's opinion by which Mrs. Jones is to see the necessity of returning to Boston to obtain her divorce, &c. &c. Cooper determines if possible to prevent P's seeing her again and to urge the immediate setting out on the projected journey to Virginia. With these views he left me at Hoggs with Colman. Staying longer than we expected C who went to look for P by appointment & found that he had left his quarters, concluded that he had gone to the lady's & that they had met. After waiting again some time C left me & return'd saying he had met P, who told him he had been to Mrs. J's & received answer that she was gone to walk with Mr Cooper. This Coleman supposed was untrue, & that Cooper was still with at her house. Coleman again left me to go on an errand into the Bowery and soon after Paine called at the door & enquired for Mr Cooper, and Mr Coleman, questioning the boy if they had been at the house (Hoggs) to day & if they had been together. Being answer'd in the affirmative he left the house. I look'd out of the window & saw his manner hur-

ried & agitated. Cooper now return'd and I found that in this short interval he had carried the lady off & lodged her at Hoboken. While talking on business Paine call'd again and Cooper went off to avoid him. Paine came up to me. He was agitated and heated. I was seated with Hugh Pownal making a memorandum of business to be done by him for Cooper in England. Paine enquired for Cooper? He is not here. Has he been here lately? Yes. Very lately? Yes. Within 20 min^{ts}? Yes, within less time. He wanted to see me, C, & Coleman together. Where should he find Cooper? Where did he live? &c. Having received a direction to Cooper's place of residence, he departed. About 2 OClock Cooper return'd & ask'd me if I would go with Mrs. Cooper to Hackinsack. I agreed. We went to his lodgings. Paine had been there & could gain no intelligence even of the time Cooper intended leaving town for Mrs. Cooper supposed the period two days off. Mrs. Cooper immediately prepar'd to go with me. A Coach was called & we drove to the state prison Greenwich St. stop'd at a public house & discharged the Coach. We soon cross'd the Ferry to Hobocken & I hired a coachee & arrived at Hackinsack before 6 OClock.

[July] 21st Hackinsack. Walk about the Neighbourhood. Mrs. Cooper expresses her dissatisfaction at being made the companion of Mrs Jones whom she represents as the mistress of Coleman: however she determines to comply with her husbands wishes & treats her with politeness. At 5 OClock P. M. Cooper arrives with his servant in a top chaise for Mrs. J and himself & Placide in a Curricle for Mrs. C. Placide returns with me in the Coachee & we arrive at N. Y. 9 OClock.

[July] 22d Principally occupied in making an arrangement with Ciceri: a business I had abandon'd as hopeless.

[July] 23d Go by packet to Amboy. dispatch Ciceri's terms to Cooper with letter to Phil: & duplecate to Baltimore.

WILLIAM COLEMAN (1766-1829)

Attributed to William Dunlap

(Owned by The New York Historical Society)

[July] 24 paint. Fish.

[July] 25th paint.

[July] 26th last night Mrs Witherspoon died. Occupied in attending upon her family.

[July] 27th paint. read. Attend funeral.

[July] 28th Return to N. Y. with my son, Jacob Stout Jun^{r} & Mrs Terrill.

[July] 29th Receive letters from Cooper in which he negatives that part of the terms I had proposed for Ciceri by which Ciceri is empower'd to object to any other person painting for the Theatre during his engagement. Ciceri of course determines to go off.

[July] 30th See Ciceri again. He gives me to understand his wish to return & be employ'd. If Cooper chuses & I write to him he will engage for 2½ or 3 years at 40 doll^{s} all the year & the privilege of getting up a pantomime, for benefit, still however insisting on the disputed power: but by this arrangement any body may paint for the Theatre in his absence. C likewise brings me drawings by [blank] to judge of as an Assistant.

[July] 31st Ciceri calls on me. He will waive the stipulation respecting benefit rather than break for it. His direction "Charles Ciceri" To the care of Mr. James Vidalot No. 71 Broad St. or 10 Murray St. Duplicates to be made. Mem: Hodgkinson's last offer "You are to have the engaging & discharge of all necessary Carpenters, Scene shifters, & Painters employed in the New York Theater during the aforesaid periods & they are to be subject to your orders."

Write to Cooper. That Ciceri will be at sea before he receives my letter. That he feels himself a banish'd man & wishes to return. That he (Cooper) had parted with

him rather from a determination to keep in his own hands a power pernicious to himself or at least useless. That I wished his instant answer to the question, whether he would engage Ciceri if he return'd in Jan^{y} or Feb^{y} next for 2 and ½ years at 40 doll^{s} y^{e} week paying all the time—the benefit left to Mr Cooper to do the best—the power respecting Assistants as expressed in y^{e} agreement with Hodgk:

To Cooper for tomorrow's Mail.

You will have rec'd a letter from me dated July 31st requiring to know if you will engage Ciceri from his return in Jan^{y} or Feb^{y} next for the purposes expressed in the propositions rejected by you at &c In that letter I roundly asserted that the power &c &c I will now explain. You want as your Architect, scene painter & Machinist a man of Science an Artist & a gentleman, or, if you please instead of the last a conscientiously honest man. Such a man, if such a man can be found, must labour for you con amore if he labours to any effect. His interest and your interest must be one. He not only labours assiduously himself but he is the moving soul of many subordinate parts: parts which cannot come under your cognizance, which are without the sphere of your knowledge and in short of which no person but himself is competent to judge. This gentleman if he is such as you wish has a reputation to sustain. A reputation like that of every other artist built upon years of toil and as dear as that life which it is to support & render respectable. Suppose that you had made an engagement with such a person for the purposes before stated & he had neglected to shut out the possibility of misunderstanding & had not stipulated for the full control of his department. You feeling yourself at liberty would perhaps accept the offer of another Artist to paint a drop scene or some brilliant flat & would order it for exhibition. What would be the effect of this treatment upon the gentleman you had entrusted wth so very important a branch of your business? Either he would break through his article as considering it violated by you in its spirit & intention, or he would say to you, "Sir, you can have no view in this but my degradation, for you cannot be so blind as not to see the effect this must have upon the public. The preference you give to another artist over me will be infer'd & the public judgment will be guided by you to my injury. If the Artist whose works you wish to exhibit in the place of mine is really superior to me, it is not your interest while you rely upon me for the support of your *spectacles,* to weaken me by the comparison; and if he is but my equal or even my inferior he will appear as my superior first, by the preference <*given by you*> you manifest secondly

by the choice of pieces for exhibition. Certainly you must know, Sir, that <*among*> of the many plays which are perform'd some are better suited to give a painter an oppertunity of gaining reputation than others as some are better suited than others to effect the same purpose for the Actor; so likewise in almost every play their is some one scene better calculated to procure credit, as there is some one character better adapted to <*procure*> command applause; and will not this exotic artist chuse that which will most strike? undoubtedly. While the subordinate parts must be supplied by me under the pressure of invidious comparison. Sir, I consider this as <*a piece*> an act of injustice tending to my ruin, without adding to your emolument. It is true that by my article of engagement I have not stipulated for the exclusion of any artist inimical to me (for I must consider as my enemy any man who without my consent, <*or even*> nor without my request would make an offer of the nature we speak of) or for the power of engaging & discharging assistants and therefore you can legally proceed to destroy me but, Sir, you must henceforward expect nothing from me, but what my article legally obliges me to perform."

I will not prolong the speech of my imagined painter; I will not dilate or repeat; I only ask of you to read twice. What the business is which a man in this situation may be obliged by his article of engagement to perform, ask Mr Holland; who certainly spoke from his heart the last time we dined with him. He told you that an Artist was not bound to work by the hour like a mechanick. He told you true. Where is the man who shall judge of the time required for designing a picture, or the number of hours necessary for the artist to execute his design? Where is the article that can bind a man to promote your interest at the sacrifice of his own ease? Believe me my friend you can do better without the good will of your best Actor (even tho' you were not an actor yourself) than without the good will of such a man as we speak of. The Actor will exert himself before the public for the recompense of public approbation & thereby support your interest, but there is no reward for the thousand services render'd in secret by your Scene painter & Machinist except what springs from the consciousness of doing right & the pleasure of promoting the interests of his employer.

If Mr Holland could or would have consented to abandon his present situation & take all this charge upon himself, I should not have mention'd the name of Ciceri so often to you. Mr H you say is your friend, mutual confidence exists between you & I could not have doubted <*but that*> your <*have*> full assurance that every branch of this important department would be concluded to your satisfaction. But you are directed to send for a stranger, of whose competency as an artist you cannot judge until you have no re-

source in case of failure, & <*of*> for whose honesty, delicacy & honor there can be no voucher.

In speaking of the terms on which Ciceri will return, I forgot yesterday to mention the Assistant. He wishes to have the power if necessary to go beyond 14 dollars, as he hopes to bring an artist who is a better landscape & figure painter than himself, and he would hope you would trust 2 or 3 dolls per week to his discretion. Caton (if that is his name) can be engaged if you please for one season only if you think best, tho' it is my opinion that for the two next seasons you will want two assistant painters.

If you determine upon engaging C. my letters will follow him & reach him at Bourdeaux or Paris; If not be as particular in your instructions relative to Pownal as possible. In either case direct as to the employment of the Assistant here.

I presume my motives cannot be mistaken by you therefore I will make no apology for giving my opinions & advice. they are after all but opinions & advice & your orders shall be cheerfully obey'd by

Your french Taylor has call'd on me. How is he to be furnish'd with money.

Aug^{t} 1st. Add to C's letter. "Placide has just been showing me a proposition he is going to make to Ciceri to induce him to return—at the same time ceding him to you if you desire. *did not send this addition.*

[Aug.] 12th A great deal of my time has been occupied in visits to my family at Amboy. I have been arrested by the district Attorney of the U. S. as John Heard's security. I returned yesterday from Amboy and found the following letter from Cooper.

Peterburgh Aug^{t} 6th 1806

Your two letters on the subject of Ciceri I received together this morning.

[Two and a half pages blank; the remainder of the letter not copied]

Write the following as instructions for Hugh Pownal.

You will please to engage for Mr. Cooper, a Scene painter who is at the same time a Machinist, and capable of taking charge of the whole of the department of Scenery & Machinery for the New York Theatre. The terms you are authorized to offer, are, Six Guineas per week for Eighteen months from the time of his arrival, or if it is necessary to engage him for a longer period, make it two years &

six months. If possible let the engagement for the additional year be to pay only when employ'd; *that is*, to pay when the Theatre is open, certain, & as many weeks as employment can be given when it is not open. But let not this seperate you from a good artist. Rather than not strike the bargain agree to give the salary all the year round for two years & an half. You may further engage that he shall have a benefit on the usual charges to performers, & you may even go so far, *if necessary*, as to engage that Mr Cooper will secure $300 doll^{s} profit upon said benefit. This gentleman will please to procure for himself an Assistant, such as he thinks will answer <*best the purposes*> to whom you are authorized to engage a salary of fourteen doll^{s} per week. You <*will*> may likewise engage <*for*> that Mr Cooper will pay the passages of both painter & Assistant on their arrival. For a first performer capable of filling the first line of Tragedy & genteel Comedy, you are authorized to offer and Mr Cooper is hereby bound to pay a yearly salary of Four hundred pounds Sterling <*a year for*> during three years from the time of arrival; which is upwards of 40 doll^{s} p^{r} week for 43 weeks his services being at the command of Mr Cooper from the first day of Sept^{r} until the fifth of July following in each year. He will have the choice of first Comedy business & in tragedy play the counterparts & seconds to Mr Cooper. He will have a benefit each season, at the charges paid by others. His passage to be paid by Mr Cooper on his arrival & repaid by him in instalments during the period of engagement. You will endeavour also to engage a first lady, & you are hereby authorized to give the same terms as for the first gentleman. She will have the first line both in Tragedy & Genteel Comedy. If you should not be so successful as to engage either in the female or male a person of talents equal to this offer, and can engage such as from your knowledge of theatricals you judge can stand in the places, you are authorized to use your discretion & reduce the offer'd terms accordingly. If Mr Talbot can be had, you are authorized to offer him the same terms with an additional hundred pounds per year. e i instead of £400 yearly, offer £500.

There is a powder used, in Theatres, especially on the continent, for producing artificial flame, called *Licopodium*. it is collected from a species of Moss in y^{e} North of Europe. if you can procure a few pounds it will be very acceptable.

With respect Sir I remain
Y^{r} ob^{t} Ser^{t}
W D

Mr H Pownal

P S. I should be glad of a few doz Ivories for miniatures, about 3 Inches by 2½ or larger of best quality & not East India Ivory. The best is unpolish'd & free from veins. Half a dozen pencils for Miniature painting recommended by a Min: p: would be very acceptable.

N. Y. Aug^{t} 12th [1806]

To T. A. Cooper

Yours of 4th & 6th came duly to hand, & I have in consequence given the letter of instructions to Pownal for engaging a scene painter & Assistant according to your former instructions. You do me injustice in concluding that I have not made due enquiry after Caton & might with as much propriety, at least, suppose your information respecting him erroneous. Mr Caton is not in New York, nor has ever been fixed here as a painter. The most accurate information I can obtain is, that having a fortune left him, he has settled near Albany & is now building there. With much pursuit I found a man of the name of Holmes, who has great pretensions & little merit. he would not engage except as principal & is not fit, I fear, for an Assistant. Thus you see you must rely altogether upon the arrangements you can make yourself. At Baltimore is a man of the name of Grey who would in my opinion be an excellent Assistant. He is by trade originally a Taylor but paints landscapes with excellence. He painted the views in Brydens dining [room] at the Hotel.

To T. A. C. to be sent tomorrow.

I rec'd a letter from Dykes declining the offer and recommending Barnes. I wrote to Barnes making the offer Dykes had refused. I waited upon J. C. Shaw as you request I made your apology. He said that when he saw the other gentlemen he would consult them & write to you the result. This is all buzz, fudge, or what you please. I know the man. These gentlemen have no power over the children; they are simply trustees of the money collected for them. They would not accept any guardianship, power, or responsibility for or over these children. I have seen Tyler on the subject, who wishes the children bound to you; and says that Fanny importunes him to be her guardian. On the other hand Mr Thos Hodgkinson has sworn that his brothers children shall never be placed under you, but that he will take them to his house & educate them, this Fanny opposes, & Tyler "also" Placide, a few days ago told me that Cullen alias *Carpenter*[52] (who is here & about to set up a <*press*> newspaper in opposition to his friend Colman) has declared his determination to take Hodgkinsons Children & that they shall not go on the Stage. I have now told you all I know on the subject. At present there is nobody to dispose of the Children: when you are here you must see to the <*fixing*> appointing guardians, and may I presume regulate the business to your wish. C has been almost distracted by the silence of Mrs J. Pray how is her health.

[52] Stephen C. Carpenter was the proprietor of *The People's Friend & Daily Advertiser,* from its establishment September 1, 1806, until August, 1807. William Coleman was editor of the *New-York Evening Post.*

What is her conduct. how far can you rely on her services? I think you must engage Miss Delinger to be ready to stop gaps.

Aug 13 Send off the above letter. See Mr Gallatin on the subject of my suretys ship &c. He says that the 2 sureties ought to confess judgement. That previous to an execution against them it is his duty to try every means in his power to recover from the principal. On my stating to him that Heard had an office under the State Government & had hired a house in New Brunswick within the limits & did not even express a desire to remedy the evil he had occasion'd, Mr Gallatin expressed his indignation. He advised that the sureties should join in a representation of facts to the Treasury & if they had any offer to make for liquidating the debt by instalments, to make it. That either this would be accepted or execution taken out against them. In the latter case they must go into confinement when they must apply to him for liberation upon an Assignment of their property. He profess'd his wish to alleviate the case of the sureties & promised to do all for that purpose which the law would allow.

Aug^{t} 14th To T A C[ooper]

During my search for Caton I <*have*> heard of a gentleman <*of the*> by name <*of*> Guligher[53] and last even^{g} saw & conversed with him. He is an artist of great merit as a painter generally and has been for some years past engaged in portrait painting. He was the principal scene painter for the Boston Federal Street Theatre at its first establishment (I mean the house that was burnt) and painted all the scenery. He has the manners of a gentleman & man of sense. He is willing to engage for one season as principal Scene painter and waits <*the*> your answer to this for your terms. I think you need not hesitate to engage him for the coming season as the person Pownal engages, if he gets any, <*worth having*> can not be here till late in the season, and then you know you will certainly have your choice of "Tom and Dick".

If in the arrangement of your business you can find a place for the Comedy I gave you "The father of an only child" which in getting up will only require study, you will thereby promote my inter-

[53] Christian Gullager. See the Bayley and Goodspeed edition of Dunlap's *Arts of Design*, III, 305.

est, as by neglecting it, the want of worth will be implied. I mention this with great reluctance & would not do it, if I thought your interest would suffer by it.

Yours truly
W D

P. S. I look for an answer respecting Guligher by the 23d after which I ought to start for Nantucket & Boston if I go at all. Mr Bullfinch the Architect is an object

leave N. Y. about 4 OClock & arrive at Amboy about 9, riding part of the way in Mr Carey's chaise for which ride pd. 2 dollˢ.

[Aug.] 15th Went with Mr A Bell to Brunswick to enter special bail in the suit instituted by the Treasury against Heard, and Drake & self as his sureties. See Heard. He is very "sorry"—cant do anything—is to petition Congress for relief—" &c. Return home abᵗ 9 OClock

[Aug.] 16th Write & read Johnson's lives.

N. Y. On Monday the 18th I return'd hither with my Wife & daughter & next day went with them to Bloomingdale where they remain.

[Aug.] 22d [John] Watts havᵉ publish'd [Thomas] Moore's poems brings a copy here with Colman & leaves it with me. My indignation is rous'd. Amidst licentious baudy songs to meet the most rancorous & vile misrepresentation of my Country written by a man who was flatter'd & pamper'd by the fools of that country while here & has return'd to his home to vilify those who bow'd to him because he had written some pretty bawdy songs before he came here, makes me blush <*for that society*> & feel indignant. "But the lays of his boyhood had stol'n to their ear.[53a] I blush not my countrymen for you collectively, but for those pretenders to taste & science who have flutter'd round this Will o' the wisp Englishman and by assuming the characters of the representatives of your Country's literature have justly brought

[53a] From Thomas Moore's poem, "Lines written on Leaving Philadelphia."

it into contempt with this Idol conscious of his own nothingness. <*Who can blame*> The admirers of [William] Cobbett are the admirers of Moore; and Cobbett & Moore dispise them for their admiration. Though not wise or virtuous themselves they cannot but see the folly & depravity of their admirers. Well may Mr M represent that Country as "Old in Youth & blasted in her prime" [53b] whose inhabitants can relish the malignant falshoods of a ruffian like Cobbet, or the bawdy lays of a debauchee like Moore. We are glad that these bawdy poems are not publish'd by an American and cannot blame a foreigner who judging of our national taste by the avidity with which Littles poems [54] were received (by a certain class) has eagerly published the poems of Thomas Moore.

The lines written on leaving Philadelphia, were distributed among the flatterers of the bard before he left America: who but must smile at the impudence which publishes them in connection with the other more honest effusions of vanity which this Vol: contains.

The merit of Mr Moore is duly appreciated by the writer of this communication, but he hopes he shall not live to see the time, depraved as the American character is in the eyes of Messrs. Cobbett & Moore, when prettiness of versafication or even brilliancy of wit shall recommend the impurity of the brothel to the toilette or the parlour windows of the females of America.

Boston Sept[r] 15[th] 1806. After my Wife had remain'd at Bloomingdale upwards of a week I accompanied her & my daughter to Stamford & next day visited Shiphand & Scolly's cove & the day after return'd to N. Y. where I received notice from Cooper that the Eastern journey must be given up. Paint for improvem[t] in N. Y. Visit Stamford again & again return to N. Y. on the 9th instant. On the 11th receive from Cooper orders to proceed to Boston & bring or send off Mrs Jones Children &c. &

[53b] From Moore's poem, "Epistle VI to Lord Viscount Forbes, from Washington."

[54] Thomas Moore's amorous poems were published pseudonymously in England in 1801, with the title *Poems by the late Thomas Little.*

to be in N. Y. by Monday 22d. Started from N. Y. on Friday the 12th Arrive at 12 OClock at N Haven in c°. w^th^ Capt^n^ Mix. Start again at 2 OClock the 13th with Mix, Bliss & Bryers. Darkness, rain & Thunder. At Hartford take in Lt Humphrey. At Springfield leave all my Companions. A little further on took up B Booth (Who lost his wife & child on board the Rose in Bloom) & his brother. Arrive at Worcester at 2 OClock Sunday 14th. Stay there until Monday Morn^g^ 15th 2 OClock & arrive here about 10.

Put up at Thayers. Dine at Mrs Brown's. See [Henry] Cabot & Bourne. West. Wells out of town. See R T Paine.

[Sept.] 17th See Wm. Wells who undertakes to procure subscribers. Leave with him a Vol: for the Anthology. Go with Paine to Mrs Shamway who raises difficulties in respect Mrs Jones' Children See Mr [John] Hurd a distiller twice and the 2d time after a communication with Mrs Shamway he refuses to deliver the child that is with him unless his Bill is fully pd ($98). Shamway makes a bill of $130. I suspect Paine of deceitfully instigating this Woman while pretending to forward my views. I hope it is not so.

[Sept.] 18th Leave with John West 20 Vols: of my Works. with W: Well 20 Vols. Leave with [Joseph T.] Buckingham, printer & Editor of Polyanthos a vol: & promise him intelligence. Leave Russel a Vol:—R. T. Paine has I believe shun'd me to day. I must depart & leave the business to Harry Cabot.

[Sept.] 19th Paine calls on me early. Says that he was all day out of town after Mrs Neat, who has undertaken to accommodate matters with Hurd & will wait for the payment of her own acc^t^ Mrs Jones's time. I have given Paine 130 dolls to pay Shamway: he is [to] give his note to Hurd: to ship the furniture & send the key of Bureau to me by post: Mrs Neat is to clothe the children & find a woman to take charge of them & Paine

is to send them off. Bourne wished me to stay to day & dine with him & a party but I conclude to depart at 9 OClock for Providence.

New York Sept^{r} 21st 1808

Here is an Hiatus which I shall not attempt to fill up.

I was a few days ago releas'd from Brunswick Gaol (where my confinement by the kindness of Mr Gallatin was only nominal, going in to receive my release) on giving a deed for all my Estate, real, personal & mixt. My situation in the New York [Theatre] has been reduced in value from 1700 to 900 dollars (with the chance of a benefit if I choose) but my time is my own 20 weeks in the year. I open the book now rather to keep an acc^{t} of my mony than to Journalize.

[There follow twenty nine pages of accounts, of household expenses at Perth Amboy, clothing, and travelling expenses, September 21, 1808 to June 28, 1811.]

[On the fly leaf, at the top, Dunlap wrote in pencil:]

To introduce Mrs. Arnold opposing her husbands treason

When I became your wife &c.

I promised to love thee, honour thee, obey thee &c. Can I honour a traitor

What gain'd my youthfull heart? Thy person? No &c. Thy honourable fame

[At the end of the volume are the following memoranda, referring to the printing and distribution of *Dramatic Works of William Dunlap,* I, Philadelphia, 1806:]

Rec^{d} from T & G Palmer 392 Copies 1st Vol:

	vols.
Deliver'd to J. Osborne	110
D Longworth	10
I [saac] Riley	10
John West Boston	20

Wm Wells d°	20
W T Thayer (paid for)	1
in presents	4
Wm Blagrove Boston	5
Henry Cushing providence	5

Dramatic Works &c 1st Vol: 1000 copies	
paper	80
printing	138.75
Engraving	35
D° inscription	2.50
Copper plate printing	10
D° D° paper	4.75
Binding 500 copies	30
Copy right	1.20
	302.20
printing proposals	4.
Advertising	10
pack^{g} Case, Freight & Cartage	2.50
p^{d} for distributing	3

Rec^{d} for Dramatic works &c	
From Morgan Lewis &c &c at Albany	8
Thos A Cooper for Boston	40
J E Harwood philadelphia	3
Hugh McLean	3
Supt^{n} Collector	10
John Hogg	2
C B Brown	1
Wm Johnson	1
John West Boston (For Z Cook)	1
W T Thayer d°	2
Sup^{n} Collector	26

DIARY OF WILLIAM DUNLAP

March 17, 1811—May 6, 1811

November 23, 1812—May 7, 1813

New York and Philadelphia

Notes on the Life of

GEORGE FREDERICK COOKE

(Manuscript volume lettered *Memoirs 31* owned by
Yale University Library)

Notices of Cooke the Tragedian [55]

New York March 17th 1811. When Coopers letter arrived announcing his having engaged Cooke at 25 guineas or $116.66 per week to play wherever directed e i in New York, Boston Philadelphia or Baltimore, and have the amount of a benefit in ea[h] place [Stephen] Price was extravagant in his demonstration of Joy triumphantly repeating "Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer by this son of York" again & again. He hired a pilot Boat and went down to the Hook to wait for his arrival, but came back disapointed. At length the great man came & in the same vessel McFarland, Doige & Smalley. They came up in the evening of the 16th November 1810 & Price sent a note to the Theatre for me to join him at the Tontine Coffee House where I found the veteran of the Buskin sitting with the Manager over a bottle of Madeira. I was pleased with his appearance tho' disappointed. He lookd 60 years old. Mild & polite in the manner of the old school; his sober suit of grey, his grey hairs and the suavity of his manners gave no indication of the eccentric being who had been the theme of the English fugitive publications.

He dined the next day with Price sate late & got drunk. I saw him next day in his bed. "Cooper" says he "gave me a great many cautions when I left him, but he forgot to caution me against his partner."

On Wed[y] the 21st Nov[r] he made his first appearance on the American stage & play'd Richard with the enthusias-

[55] The diary entries and memoranda in this volume were used by Dunlap in writing his *Memoirs of the Life of George Frederick Cooke,* in two volumes, published in New York by David Longworth, in 1813; and in London by Henry Colburn, in 1813, and in 1815.

tic applause of the Audience. His *entré* was truly dignified. I saw no vestige of the old man. His post[ure] erect, his step firm, his eagle eye beaming fire. He return'd the salutes of the audience not as a player to the public on whom he depended but as a King acknowledging the acclamations of his subjects and yet before he went on he trembled like an aspen leaf. The amount of the house was 1820 dollars. There were 1358 persons in the Boxes. On friday the 23d he play'd Sir Pertinax M^{c} Sycophant, when notwithstanding a violent Snow storm the House was 1424 dollars. After playing he sup'd & drank freely; the consequence was that next day he had no voice, but he thought that he could force it at night when he was to repeat Richard. Night came, he began, his Voice broke, the audience encouraged him, he tried every remedy, in vain—he whisper'd Richard thro' & was at the end of it pretty nearly drunk. Tho a saturday night there was in the House 1155 doll^{s}.

He had now removed to Price's house by invitation, where every attention was paid to him, and every endeavour made to keep him straight.

His fourth night was the 28th (Wed^{y}) when he play'd Shylock to a house of $1804. On friday the 30th he repeated Sir Pertinax to $1180.

The sixth night of his performance was on Monday Dec^{r} 3d the play Glenalvon & Sir Archy Macsarcasm, when notwithstand^{g} a violent Storm the house was $1287.

Wed^{y} the 5th he play'd Zanga to $1367. This was a failure; tho' in passages very fine. His Eighth night, friday the 7th Dec^{r} he play[ed] both Shylock & Sir Archy, but in the latter his voice broke entirely. The house was $1270.

On Monday, the 9th night, & 10th of Dec^{r} he performed Macbeth but was thought much inferior to Cooper. The house $1605. On Wed^{y} the 12th he play'd Sir Giles Overreach in the New way &c. He was extremely great in the great scene but the play did not please. the house was $963.

GEORGE FREDERICK COOKE (1756-1811)

By William Dunlap

(In Dunlap's manuscript *Memoirs 31,* in the Library of Yale University)

He made his first appearance in the richest of the Falstaff's (1st p^{t} Henry 4th) on friday Dec^{r} 14th and was deservedly admired. I generally dined with him on play days & accompanied him to the Theatre. On our way this ev^{g} we talked of Henderson & he said his best points were only copied from him. The house was $1444. His twelfth night was Monday Dec^{r} 17th & a repeat of his Sir Giles to $798. After the play he sup'd as usual but got unusually drunk, abused Price in the grossest terms & finally caught up a Decanter to throw at him. P. seiz'd him & threw him down violently. C exclaim'd "remember I am in your own house Dont strike me" P. insisted upon his going to his room. he went sullenly and as he had frequently done sat up by the fire all night going to bed in the morning. The next day he left an excuse w^{h} the serv^{t} for not dining at home & went out. he rambled about the streets of the City, dined at Brydens,[56] got drunk & did not return to P's that night. He peep'd into the Theatre at rehearsal ask'd the prompter if all was well, & went to Prices with the determination of removing his trunks & leav^{g} the house. However he was disuaded & upon being assured that Mrs Price was not angry with him for his intemperence he was very happy to be reconciled. In the evening when he saw me, he exclaim'd "Ah Dunlap! its all over now." He was so wild from the previous excess that his Cato, to which & for his benefit, an immense audience (1878$) of the first of our people was assembled, was the most shamefull exhibition ever witness'd in N. Y. I saw him when dress'd for Sir Archy. "I was very much bewilder'd. do you know that I could not remember one line after having recited the other. I caught myself once or twice giv^{g} Shakespere for Addison. Heav'n forgive me. If you ever heard any thing of me you have heard that I always have a frolic on my benefit day. If a man can't take a liberty with his friends Who the divil can he take a

[56] James Bryden was proprietor of the Tontine Coffee House, on the north west corner of Wall and Water Streets. *N. Y. City Directory* 1810; I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island,* III, V.

liberty with?" He play'd Sir Archy perfectly well. The words were so familiar that he could not trip in them & he was somewhat recover'd from his intoxication.

Sunday Mar: 17th [1811] Dined at [Dr. David] Hosack's with Cooke, [Dr. Hugh] McLean, E[dmund] Pendleton, Cochran's, (James & Walter) T Morris &c: Cooke by H's permission began his wine drinking again but was moderate & himself moved to return home about 8 OClock & I left him in his bed room appointing 9 as the hour to wake him next morning to prepare for his Journey: next morn^{g} when I call'd Bryden told me that he would have a parting bottle w^{h} him & had sat up late & gone to bed intoxicated. He however got up but was restless & complain'd of pain in his breast. I sent off his baggage & McLean & self walk'd with him to the packet: he was now cheerful & chatty and sat on the Windlass till we were nearly thro' the narrows. When the waves running high & sometimes breaking over us, he went down, chill'd with the east wind. he became sick but instead of the usual nausea had chill & violent pain in the breast. Sam gave him some strong rum & water & it reliev'd him. He landed at Amboy cheerily, eat heartily of Beef Steak & while I took tea drank 5 or 6 glasses of Madeira: I took him from the wine under pretence of seeing the Hotel &c and on his return he sat cheerfully chatting to my wife & daughter with great pleasantry till 10 then ate some roasted Oysters drank 4 or 5 glasses more & went to bed. At 8 on tuesday the 19th he arose delighted with having slept (as he insists on it) better than since his arrival in America and after a hearty breakfast We began our land journey very pleasantly. At Princeton we dined drank a little beer & a little wine & proceeded to Trenton. The beer made me sick, filling me with gas, I thought tea would help me he join'd me & while we were taking it Price & Beekman arrived. My sickness increas'd to chill or ague & vomit & I went to bed when after fever & sweat I slept and got up well. Cooke had sup'd with P & B with moderation & was

next morning in good order. We walk'd with Commodore Hunt & saw the spot where the Hessians were taken & after breakfast proceeded, arriving at Phil: ½ past 2. The old man was a little peevish about the time of our arrival & somewhat wild. He saw in the Phil: paper at Trenton that the Managers [57] had apologized to the public for his absence & had advertized him for friday to play Richard. "I'll be damn'd if I do!" he exclaim'd, "if I am too unwell to play Wednesday how do they know I shall be well enough to play friday?" After dinner Wood & Warren call'd. Cooke persisted in his determination & nam'd Monday as a day when he would probably be recover'd. Wood went away to announce the further disapointment to the public & Warren stay'd to show us to the Theatre. The appearance of Cooke in the Boxes took off all attention from the players who were perform[g] the Busy Body. the adjoining boxes were crowded with curious impertinents until he went to a private Box. I left him, took a walk, look'd into the green room & when I return'd found him at supper with a glass of punch. "So" says he "this is the widows third choice. he is not the Warren I remember in England. What a fop he is. did you notice the tassels to his garters? I never saw any body else wear them. Upon my word the good lady seems to descend with every husband: first Merry, then Wignel & then Warren!" He went to bed at eleven.

Thursday the 21st March we breakfasted at 9 previous to which I had taken a walk. Cooke attended a rehearsal of Richard, during a part of which he threw out his voice to the astonishment of those around him, whom he commanded & reprov'd occasionally with some asperity. I visited Trot & Sully, and pass[d] some minutes at Mr S Levy's. We dine by appointment with Wood. Rather a Theatrical party & almost of course stupid. Cooke, tho' he profess'd in the morning that he would only drink wine & water, soon began to pour down port wine so

[57] William Warren and William B. Wood, managers of the New Theatre, corner of Chestnut and S. Sixth Streets, Philadelphia.

as to convince me he was determined to be drunk. I went to Mr S[ampson] Levy's to Tea & return'd to Wood, between 8 & 9 & found C completely mad & Wood nearly intoxicated. [Stephen] Price, [Benjamin C.] Wilcox & Irving had drop'd in. "Ah my dear D. I was mistaken. I prophesied that you were in bed but you have been taking your tea. he owns himself a tea sot. He's the only man that shall command, I put myself under his orders." Wilcox who had been plying him with bumpers of port, says to me "then I suppose your orders will be sailing orders." These last mention'd three now went off professing to prepare for a Ball. "A ball!" exclaim'd C "if ever I have an oppertunity of quizzing the Americans I'll remember this. Going to a Ball in Boots, just like everything in the damn'd Country." Wood who was loquaciously drunk explain'd that they now only went [to] dress. "Don't talk to me Sir, pretty fellows for the company of Ladies, just from the tavern & the bottle, they dont know what belongs to genllmen, my dear D. sit down by me, dont leave me. didn't I throw out my voice this morning. I gave it to them. I'll show these people what acting is." "You frighted'd some of our young men. they are clever lads tho' " "Are they? I wonder how you are to find it out. But you're all alike." "But Mr Cooke I've seen you act when you were surrounded by dire dogs" "The worse of them better than the best of you." "Jack Brunton now, he's a clever lad, but you wont say he's an actor; I love Jack, he's my friend but he's a dire dog." "He's your friend? You take a damn'd queer way to show your friendship. I feel inclined to be severe D. I'll cut these fellows. dont leave me. Oh the night I slept at Amboy I never slept before in my life. poor Billy Lewis is dead. Sixty five. dont leave me." "Ah he was an actor!" "How do you know?" "Why my dear Sir I have seen him many a time" "You see him where should you see him?" "In England Sir" "And what the more would *you* know from seeing him. My dear D. didn't I throw out my voice this morning? I'll show these fellows what acting is, they talk of their Cooper their Idol, their Wooden

God. Haven't I stood the trial with John. What is your Cooper?" "But Mr Cooke you are supposing a comparison that no one thinks of. Mr Cooper is a gentleman & a scholar." "A scholar is he? How do you know it?" "but as to a comparison with you nobody thinks of making it." "They do Sir. I have heard it. A scholar. Sir he's no scholar. he's no actor. A ranting mouther that can't read a line. I appeal to you D." I look'd seriously & said Mr Cooke, Mr Cooper is my friend." He said little of Cooper after this but abus'd Wood as an Actor tho' he [had] never seen him play, abus'd Price. Abus'd the Country & continued to drink what was officiously poured out for him, while a servant by his request went for [a] carriage. "Why don't you drink? to Wood "You dont drink Sir." "I am waiting till this wine cools Sir" "So, and give me the warm, damn'd polite!" The weather was summer warm & required the precaution of Coolers. "You are all alike by God, Cooper & Price & you, all alike, a set of Scoundrels!" "Sir, I never allow any man, whatever his situation may be, to make use of an appellation of that kind to me." Cooke had used an expression which convey'd the Idea of unfair conduct as it regarded him & While he now seem'd conscious of having said something wrong Wood proceeded, "if you think there is any thing unfair in my conduct in your engagement I relinquish it, Sir." Cook made some apology. "Sir you have made use of an appellation which I will not suffer any man to apply to me." Cooke disavow'd every thing, back'd out most manfully, & they shook hands: I tried to prevail on him to walk home, he refus'd. he ceas'd drinking & turn'd his glass bottom upwards. the carriage arrived. with the assistance of Hardinge I got him in & drove to the Mansion house, H with us. Going out he ask'd who he had quarrell'd with? "Where is our host?" Wood having hold of his arm answer'd & another. nothing can give an Idea of the wildness, the repeatitions, the incoherencies, of his drunken eloquence. The time of the ride was taken up in professions of esteem for me, requests that I would promise him another nights sleep

in the same bed at Amboy, praises of my Wife & daughter & requests that I would permit him to send them Heaven knows what as presents. He would not go to bed till Hardinge went away. he would take my hand & turning to H say "this is my commander." "Sir you have no commander." "Sir, but I have, but by my own choice tho', Sir." I requested H to go & soon after he went to bed, on condition that [I] would let him stay two days & nights at Amboy & send ear rings, bracelets &c &c to my Wife & Daughter & stay with him until he was in bed. I assisted him to his room. "Sam did you ever hear anybody say any thing against that gentlemen?" "Who Mr Dunlap Sir?" "Aye, this good gentleman." "No, Sir." "No, nor you never will. Sam get me a glass of brandy." Sam went for it. "Dunlap it is strange but I can never say or do any thing to offend you. I can't. we were born gentlemen, but that bullying fellow. before I leave the country—I'm the best shot in great Britain. I never miss my man—tho' its 20 months now. Sam brought the brandy & holding it in his hand began in his way to persuade him not to take it. Cooke listen'd & then smiling says "Sam you make a damn'd long preamble, set it down. get me another. go" Sam went & I persuaded him not to take any. Sam return'd. I saw him in bed & carried off the brandy.

Friday the 22d March. To my great surprize Cooke was up by ½ past 8 and ate a hearty breakfast. "Come to day we dine at home, dont we? I drink no wine. this ugly pain in my breast troubles me. We'll see [James] Fennel at Masonic Hall (I think it is) this evening. I never saw him." It was accordingly arranged <*that*> and Price calling in agreed to dine with us. In the evening he sat patiently under Fennells intolerably bad recitations, but unfortunately Francis who we met there return'd with us & sup'd. Cooke began by Cider & Francis declared he would drink nothing but beer. However a bottle of Madeira must be call'd for—"only to mix a little Wine & Water warm with a lime in it." Old times

when he & Billy Frances were together furnish'd an inexhaustible topic & I seeing the Wine mixture made & in use went to bed, but alas the friends couldn't part till one oclock & Cooke got drunk to bed by two.

[March] 23d I had had my walk before C. got up. He was ashamed to complain. "This pain troubles me a little tho'. I must begin the water system. nine days were we on water alone during our passage and I never was better in my life. this is in favour of the Water system. Ah, I noticed then when your mother gave me my tea her hand was perfectly steady but mine was not so in taking it. I ought to be asham'd. in truth I was asham'd." He had staid the whole time at Fennell's reading room merely because he knew he was observ'd, but he was very weary of him. "mere school-boy ti-hem hem-ti—school boy? Nay I would have whipt a boy that could not have done better." We had a great deal of chit-chat to day, that is he talk'd a great deal as he always does, an incessant flow of anecdote & observation.

I call'd yesterday a second time on the widow of my friend C B Brown & found her in & company with her mother-in-law who is likewise a widow since my last visit to this place. I saw the twin boys who used to be my play things. I took them on my knees. I kiss'd them & remember'd former days. poor things! Charles has left another boy besides these & an infant girl. I wrote a note to day to Mr. P[aul] Allen who is engaged by B's friends to write his biography appointing a meeting.

"What's that?" says Cooke "I am remarking" says Francis "how well Mr Dunlap looks" "How can it be otherwise" rejoins C "when he is under my care." "I remember John Henry. He was once in the army. He was one of three officers that for some youthfull prank in Kingston Jamaica were brought to court Martial one broke & the other two suspended for short periods, Henry the shortest, but he took leave of the service. He play'd one season at Drury lane. he made his first appearance, an odd choice for a young man, in Adam in As you like it,

I remember—in Adam when he made it the first part in the piece, but it was odd choice for Henry" and so he runs on "sans intermission." He went to bed early & sober to day & was up by 8 OClock on *Sunday the 24th March.* After breakfast we walked over & beyond the Schuykill bridge his tongue running incessantly with a stream of pleasant & rare anecdote. "Digges was a very pleasant & easy man when himself Manager but when he became the agent of Daly he was the very reverse. perhaps he thought to please Daly. he made himself so hateful to the actors that they had a custom for many years after his death when ever they went to Cork to go & piss on his grave. it was abominable—some low-comedy genius began it. yet it was common to ask one another, "well. have you been to visit Digges yet? His grave is near the north wall in the Cathedral yard at Cork. Many of the Monuments in Westminster are very beautifull; there is one of General ——— which I never liked, there is an Angel blowing a trumpet to represent the last day, and the general is represented as rising at the sound—the clouds around put me in mind of pieces of paste—an old soldier who knew the general—perhaps had serv'd under [him] when visiting the monuments, seeing this; took out a pencil & steping up to the base wrote

"Keep quiet if you're wise;
You'll be damn'd if you rise."

John (e i Kemble) says to me one day, you are older than I am. Am I, says I, I think not.———says you were born on the [blank] of October 55. does he? I was born in October, but not 55 no not 55. My lady must be 57 or 58. Sarah—Sarah Siddons." Our walk was pleasant tho' it was rather windy. At 2 the old man sate down to his dinner, hav^{g} after much debate declined an invitation to C Ingersols. At this time hard rain. He was much pleas'd to hear of the great press to obtain boxes which took place yesterday morning and tho' I was present when the particulars were told him, he afterwards re-

peated them to me, exclaiming "Why this is equal to Siddons' first tour." He dined at home & alone to day. I dined at C J Ingersols. I return'd to my tea. Cook was out walking but soon return'd & made me remark that he had left half his bottle of Wine. In the evening Calbraith who lately made his debut here in Zanga intruded himself & finding Wine sat till supper & after supper & after I, heartily tired with his stupid impertinent talk went to my bed. Cooke however got to bed by eleven in pretty good order.

Monday [March] 25th I arose to meet Mr P Allen at 7. The veteran was up by 8: lively & loquacious as ever. He told me that Calbraiths errand was to get the part of Othello. "Why I think Sir he shows no great promise for Othello." "No, nor any thing else. I'm glad Wood is to do it. Iago depends upon Othello & indeed Othello upon Iago. I remember———said he had seen the play better done than ever it would be again. Barry play'd Othello, Garrick Iago, Woodward Roderigo, & Cibber & Pritchard the two Women. Palmer play'd Cassio gentleman Palmer as they call'd him." "What John" "Oh no! before him. John I believe had not play'd then." "How does Bob Palmer stand?" "Why pretty fair. Bob is a thick headed dog, but the youngest, Bill, was the worst of them, a stupid fellow, & he grew worse & worse. he died in Ireland, of Whiskey I suppose, quite a driveller before he died. if he got a few words beat into his head the sight of Daly would drive them out again. one night in Alexander he play'd Hephestion, Daly was listening to him & in the line "O reverend Clytus father of the War" he splutter'd out O reverend Clytus father of the World." Speaking of G Colman the younger "poor George he has the rules of the Kings bench & I suppose must remain there. Young Arnold was the first I believe that arrested him. he heard that Colman was down at some Country town & he took a bailiff & two post Chaises & went after him. after he had arrested him he says he cried at what he had done & when they were to return

to London he ask'd Colman if he would ride in the chaise with him. "No Sir" says George "You may stick your nose in that chaise & I'll take your bum with me in this. He's a merry undone dog—comes out & cracks his jokes in term time & then goes in again. Goes to bed drunk every night. ——— call'd on him one day—saw his boy—"Where's your master?" "In bed Sir" "What was he drunk last night?" "Very drunk Sir." We got "John Bull act by act as he wanted money, but the last act didn't come & Mr Harris refus'd to advance any more, at last necessity drove him to make the finish & he wrote the 5th act one night—in one night—on seperate pieces of paper as he <*wrote*> fill[ed] one piece after the other he threw them on the floor & finish[g] writing & drinking went to bed in the morning. Tired of waiting <*for*> Mr Harris sent Fawcett to him & he insisted on going into his chamber & waking him "My dear Sir remember your promise we are all at a stand for the last act." "There it is" "Where" "There on the floor—pick it up. dont disturb me" Fawcett pick'd up the scraps & brought them to the Theatre in his pocket handkerchief." "Is this Mr Calbraith in business now?" "No I suppose he thinks it easier to be actor as that requires no industry talent or education." "I suppose so. Thats the last resource. Any thing can be an actor. Foote dismiss'd his old prompter but gave him the same salary & sent him on for little things. James Aikin says to him one day. "So Sir we have lost our old prompter" "Yes" says Sam, "the fellow couldn't read so I made an actor of him."

Walk with Cooke & Ben Wilcox. call on A[rmit] Brown, see his wife. Call at Curtis Clay's.

Cooke & self dined together without interruption & [but] that he was anxious to have the first night well over he did not lose his chatty pleasantry. "I remember a story of two men travelling together who observed profound silence for many hours at length the[y] arrived at cross roads. the driver was at a loss. they stop. "Pray Sir" says one, "do you know the road?" "Damn you Sir what do you mean! I'll quit you, Sir, I'd as soon you should

break wind in my company as break silence" About 5 we proceed to the Theatre and he was pleas'd & surprized to see at that early hour (and we were told it had been so for hours before) the street fill'd by the crowd waiting for the opening of the doors, but when we found the back door of the house beset & the people who had taken places crowding in by that passage, he exclaim'd "Why this beats Sarah!" We could not get in, and the young men finding it was Cooke surrounded us with impertinent curiosity. I led him off & leaving him in High St[t] ret[d] to find some mode of entrance. I met Francis & C Ingersoll & the first undertook to prepare a way while I went with Ingersol to bring up the object of admiration. he had been invited into a confectioners shop where we found him & returning the people at the door open'd to right & left & let us pass. "Aye, aye, they understand their interest now, for, as the fellow said who was going to the gallows, "there will be no sport without me." I took place with Ingersol, his brother, Anderson, Dennie, Peters & others in the Orchestra. The reception was great & his return to it dignified as usual. All passed off with the utmost applause. I found him after the play a good deal exhausted, however he recover'd his spirits at supper & after some Cider, Wine & Negus went to bed.

Tuesday [March] 26th Mr. P Allen again met me at 7. Cooke up at 8, a little stiff, but pleasant and gay as usual. I visit Mrs Brown. Call at A Brown's store—out. Walk with Cooke to see Wertmuller's Danae. Dine with him at B Wilcox's. He repeatedly express'd his fear of dining there & hi[s] determination of coming away with me to avoid wine. "You'll come home to tea?" "Yes" "And so will I, I'll take tea with you. we'll come home as soon as the candles are lit." He was cautious & silent during dinner. After W introduced port Wine & he drank freely. We dined ¾ after 4 at ½ past 7 I moved off, but alas! Cooke took no notice of my departure and I left him. I went to bed before 10. About 6 this m[g] (Wed[y]

March 27th) poor Sam who had been up with [him] all night came into my room, told me that Price & Beekman came home with him and that he had sate by the fire in the parlor all night refusing to go to bed. "I have had the worst night, Sir, that ever I had with him. He wants a carriage Sir." I went to him, he was conscious of his condition, and on my requesting him to go to bed said "I will do anything you bid me." I persuaded him to bed. He call'd for brandy &c but was easily put off. Rail at Price and Cooper incessantly. "Compare me to Cooper, I that have play'd with John. I'll leave them to worship their wooden god. he suits them. Cooper & Kemble. A devil to a God! John is an actor, he is my superior, I acknowledge it! I'll never play at New York again, no by God. He ask'd me to dine with him. Not in his house. You must promise me one nights rest at Amboy. Your dear Wife and Daughter. I know you want to persuade me to play in N York. No never under the power of Price &c &c" I reminded him of playing Richard here to night. he said he would do it. I left him dropping to sleep.

P Allen brought me Brown's Novels. Rec[d] a letter from my Wife. Write my 4th to her. Coming from Wilcox's yesterday, Doctor Chapman express'd his dissapointment in Cooke's conversation which he had expected to find brilliant. Indeed he was at table first dull and then indecent. Price has just call'd on me. He says that about 10 last evening Charles Ingersol endeavour'd to get Cooke off by offering himself as a guide but Cooke defer'd his departure till Eleven then promising to go & Charles left him. Cooke then remark'd that he knew what Ingersol was about. "He was left by Wood & the tea Sot to get me home." He got in a passion with Sam this morning. "Who are you? I know you Sir, you are Mr Price's spy."

As I return'd home last night Armit and E[lijah] Brown met me. they had been to see me & I promis'd to take tea at A's this evening.

The character & actions of George Frederick Cooke

are certainly object worthy of attention as suggesting reflections of abundant utility in the conduct of life. A man bless'd by nature with Herculean strength & iron constitution, quickness of perception & facility of combination, is reduced by vice at the early age of 55 <*to*> without the intervention of disease or accident to the situation of a drivelor. A coward, a braggart, a hypocrite a backbiter, a man of repentance without amendment, forming resolutions only to break them, fearing death with womanish pusilanimity yet rushing on to meet him with the frenzy of desperation, form'd by nature for the attainment of every virtue without possessing one —I fear not one!

Meet old Judge Benson—plan of the city of Germany in Pensylvania. Sam says that Mr Cooke drunk two bottles of madeira during the night after he came home. Mr. Cliffton, Mr. [blank] call on me Mr Hopkinson, Dr Chapman & C & me.

As I was sitting down to dinner Cooke bounced into the room with an attitude "So this is economy Dinner & breakfast in one" eat his dinner drank a pint of Madeira & rode to the Theatre as gay as eighteen. In playing this evening his voice was not so strong, but most of the gentlemen who had seen him both nights say he play'd best the last. This was not so, for he was the worse for wine. I went to bed before he return'd & he got beastly drunk again & to bed about 1 OClock.

Thursday March 28th I arose at ½ past 6 to meet P Allen. At ½ past 8 I breakfasted & Price calling on me I went to the Theatre. The crowd wait^{g} for the opening of the door to take places was a riotous mob. When I return'd at 11 Cooke was up, but could not be prevail'd on to go to rehearsal. he walk'd with me to the Museum [of Rembrandt Peale] & loiter'd there till 2. We dined alone, after dinner Dennie & Waterman call'd, & later Sully. I was seiz'd with an ague & tried to shake it off by a Walk with Sully. Dennie cant drink wine. Brandy! I return'd still sick & Cooke & Waterman went to Fennell's

reading, I to bed. He got to bed drunk at 3 OClock this morning.

Friday March 29th I was too unwell to meet Allen at 7. Cooke did not return home last night until 1 OClock & then very drunk accompanied by Waterman, who I believe is a brandy drinker. Dennie, the editor of the Port folio, the american Addison, a driveller & a sot! While with us yesterday I had leisure to contemplate the ruin of a tasteful & polish'd edifice. His conversation was little more than tokens of assent & impertinent (tho' not so meant) anticipations of what others were saying. "Yes Sir—right—exactly so—very true—beautifully remark'd —excellent &c" Read Arthur Mervyn—poor Charles— his belief that he was fated to die early & by consumption is fully express'd here. About 2 OClock my old drunkard puts his head into the room. "How do you do to day? I'm glad to see you better. do you know I could not help thinking of you in bed. if anything should happen to you they'd swear that I kill'd you. come come. damme I cut. no more of this. early to bed to night." I took the oppertunity of representing the necessity; but he took care to anticipate me & promise amendment. After dinner he drank his pint, chatted incessantly & then rode to the Theatre to play Sir Pertinax. People are applying to him for money & he gives merely because he has not firmness to refuse, tho' he regrets parting with the cash. He told me yesterday that he had lost the money out of his pocket the night before & suspected the dresser at the Theatre—sixty five dollars in bills wrap'd in a paper—to day he tells me he has recover'd the money— that he made a great noise at the Theatre about his money & that the dresser laugh'd & said he had taken it to take care of it. Now he was not at the Theatre yesterday or indeed since the time he says he lost it.

Saturday Morn^{g} Mar: 30th 1811. Cooke came home last night & without excess went to bed at 12. Wood tells me this morning that he never saw such an enraptur'd

Audience as that of last night or such fine playing and that the anxiety for places is greater than ever. The house was 1480 the first was 1344 the second 1100. As I walk'd up to the Theatre about 10 OClock a brawny fellow issued from the crowd surrounding the door, his face flushed & clothes disorder'd. "Well Charley" says an acquaintance "did you get one?" "To be sure I did" "What box?" "My old box No. 3." "You were up all night again" "yes." These robustious fellows are paid 5, 7 & 10 or more dollars and they tie handkerchiefs about their heads & remain at the Th: door all night. Rec^{d} a letter from my son mentioning Cooper's arrival. Cooke receives a letter mentioning same. Goes to rehearsal & from thence to Sully's to sit for a picture for Wood. Goes in good health & spirits to play Shylock. Allen & self proceed in our work till dinner. Cooke return'd about ½ past 9 OClock & after supper & a glass of punch went to bed at 12.

Sunday morn^{g} Mar: 31st Cook dont get up to breakfast. Sam says that he dont appear so well this morning. "Indeed Sir he dont appear so well in a morning when he goes to bed *right* as when he goes to bed tipsey." I ask'd Sam for an explanation of the money business and he told me that Mr Cook met the man who dresses him at the Theatre, at Fennells and the man then told him that he had given him the money to take care of when he came to dress for Richard the night before. This accounts for the whole. Cooke was so wild as not to remember giving the money & getting drunk again at Fennels thought the next day that he had seen his dresser at the Theatre & then receiv'd the money. Cooke sends to request me to write an excuse to Fennell for declining to have his company to dinner, & I go to Woods to excuse his going to him. pass some minutes with Sully. call on Trott who says Waterman bro^{t} C to his room last Thursday even^{g} & wanted him to go to Fennells supper, that he declined, that Fairman went only in hope of preventing mischief, that Cooke invited Waterman & Fairman to

dine with him to day. Wood tells me there was 1160 [dollars] in the house last night. Cooke dines alone wth me & only takes a few glasses. Reads in C B Browns Jane Talbot. Afternoon Trot, Sully & Waterman drop in. All quiet & pleasant. They go. He takes a dish of tea. I leave him after his supper taking Negus & read^{g}. Goes to bed ½ past 11.

Ap^{l} 1st The old gentleman is up & joins me at breakfast. Finishes Jane Talbot & writes letters. I walk.

Mend^{m} given me by Price. Half after 375 for the first five nights. The sixth paying 375. half of the next 6 paying 375 each. The whole of the thirteenth & half of next three pay^{g} 375.

Dine pleasantly & soberly & Cooke goes at 5 to dress for Richard. I am employ'd with Allen. The old man eats his supper temperately & goes to bed at 12.

Ap^{l} 2^{d} Up & with Allen. Cooke rises & breakfasts at 9. Receive a letter from Price. Extract—"Cooper is well with the exception of a lame hand." "I want you to remit me on Thursday whatever may be due me—dont neglect it for Cooper has run me in debt most damnably. Cooper commences on Monday next, in the mean time we close." Walk to Theatre. Wood tells me there was $1180 in house last night. Write to Price. Meet Mrs Bainbridge and Miss Heiliger in y^{e} Street. Call on Mrs C B B & Mrs Mead. the last I found at home. She seems much attach'd to Spain. Cooke sate to Sully, walk'd & then dined at Francis's. The company was players consequently dull & noisy. But for the presence of old Anderson the time would have been very heavy. Cooke was dull. We came away at 9 perfectly well. After supper he was chatty & pleasant at intervals reading C B B's Clara Howard. "In 1800 I arrived in London to fulfill my engagement made with Mr Lewis by letter. Mr Lewis came to the Inn & found me in the Coffee room surrounded by people & tho' he had never seen me he came directly up & call'd me by name. This was monday morning & friday I play'd

for the first time in London." He was born Ap^{l} 17th 1756. Holding up a ½ p^{t} decanter of Wine "You see" says he "I have left off drinking in a great measure."

Ap^{l} 3^{d} Wood calls & we arrange the business for a Week to come. Sit with Cooke at Sully's. Walk. Afternoon: Go with Sully to the Academy of Arts. Even^{g} Cooke plays S Pertinax to $1202.

Ap^{l} 4th While we are at breakfast Holland enters & breakfasts with us. Go to Theatre to settle with Warren and Wood to this time. Copy of Statement.

"Mr Cooke's Acct. with Philadelphia Theatre"

1811 March 25	R[ichar]d y^{e} 3d	$1348.15
27	D°	1114...
29	M[an] of y^{e} World	1474.34
30	Merch^{t} Ven^{ce}	1159.62
Ap^{l} 1	R^{d} y^{e} 3d	1187.50
		6283.61
Expences at 390 p^{r} N[igh]t		1950...
	½	4333.61
Mr Cookes share		2166.80½
1811 Ap^{l} 3d Man of the World		1202.50
Expences		390...
		812.50
Mr Cookes share of y^{e} above 5 n[ig]ts		2166.80½
		2979.30½

Payments

Cash to Mr Price	1200	
Mr. D	200	
D°	1579.30½	
	$2979.30½	

sign'd Rob^{t} Pullen
Ap^{l} 4th 1811

I told Mr Warren that Mr Price understood the charges as 375. He said it must be an error, he went & spoke to Wood, then ret[d] & said Mr Wood had stated them at 390 in his letter to Mr P. Wood tells me that Cooper is at Trenton & has sent for him to come to him. Visit at S. Levy's. Holland dines w[th] us. After dinner [Benjamin] Trot[t], [Gideon] Fairman & Waterman drop in: pleasant chat. Cooke takes tea with me. We go to the Museum & attend the lecture & experiments on Gasses. Hydrogen or inflamable mix'd with oxygen—bubbles from both seperate & united, ignited—inflamable air from Coal us'd as lamp—Aether—inflam'd &c.

Ap[l] 5[th] Wood returns disapointed—no Cooper at Trenton. Cook is up at ½ past 6 reading. Walk with Trot. Dine w[h] Samps[n] Levy. Miss Jackson. Mr McKean—charming man. 5 OClock find Cooke beset by a circulating library keeper formerly a barber to the Bath Theatre. He goes to Th: for Lear, plays to 996 dolls.

Ap[l] 6[th] Cooke up before 8. I was up at ½ past 6 to meet Allen. The other day when Holland & Trot were sitt[g] with us Holland said to Cooke "Cooper expects to see you in New York by such a day according to appointment. "He'll see me, but not on the boards." He is bitter against Cooper—he thinks he has not been fairly dealt with. He heard yesterday that Coopers baggage was in his possession but that *his* was in the public stores. "Why did he not claim them as his own?" Wood replied "It would be necessary to swear & he might not chuse to take a false oath." "Damn him I believe he'll swear to anything." I sounded him this morning as to another year in America & stated his profit, over all expences at 12000 in addition to wh[t] he would make this year—he evaded said "Money could be made in England too—besides you'll have another hero—George will be here." meaning [Joseph George] Holman. he was not displeas'd at the subject but it pass'd off without further notice. He told me he had received a letter from Twaits

with great offers for Charleston for the month of may. Holland tells me that Cooper says he dreads to meet Cooke—justifies Prices system of treating him—that Harris, Kemble &c were incensed to a great degree at him for sending Cooke away & repuls'd all attempts at explanation. That Cooper is conscious of using undue means to get him off—rails at him as an old worthless drunkard—says he would not undergo again for *any sum* what he did for that purpose.

Sunday Ap^{l} 7th Alas Cooke is again a wretched drunkard. He return'd from playing Sir Giles Overreach very finely & I took some supper & wine with him. Holland who was preparing to return to New York sat with us till ½ past 10, Cooke in high spirits, pleas'd with every thing, talking of the pictures taken & to be taken of him. "I shall go to Boston again, I have promised to finish their season. I will sit to Stuart again & send you the picture." After 11 I left him. I was restless & occasionally heard him still up. Heard the Stage go at 3 OClock. near 4 Sam knock'd and ask[ed] me from him to get up. after some hesitation I got up & slipping pantaloons without stockings & a surtout coat I went to him. "Ah Dunlap! I am glad you are here" grasping my hand "I have been rambling thro' all hell to night." "Then you must be tired & its time to go to bed." "I'll do any thing you bid me." "To bed then" and I lifted him by his arm from the chair. he looks at Sam "How came Mr Dunlap to be disturb[ed]?" "You order'd me to call him Sir." "Oh Dunlap I am not drunk, I am insane, promise me that I shall rest one night at your house. stand away, Sir, Mr Dunlaps arm is sufficient. Lights! Dunlap you are not angry! I hope you are not angry!" "No. But I must return to bed. I am not clothed & shall take cold." "Go to bed, but dont be angry." I left him having seen him seated by his bed side, & I return'd to my bed. I heard him for some time after talking to Sam who having at length got him to bed left him. During my breakfast he join'd me, in high spirits but could not eat. he acknowl-

edged his folly of last night but is in fact under the influence of it yet, tho' full of chat & anecdote. B Wilcox dined with us & Sully, Wood & a Mr Massy. I had tea at 6 & all stop'd drinking but Cooke. they went away & he continued drinking. he wanted me to walk, I understood him & would not leave him. he order'd a Coach while I was out of the room, he thinking me off, but as I return'd he ask'd me to ride wth him, I did so. on his return ab^{t} 8 he wanted supper & began to drink again uttering his eternal round of bragging drivelling nonsense. Whenever he is drunk he returns to the blow Price struck him & his determination to shoot: to night he was very systematic "He thinks I have forgotten it. no by God! I wrote the next day to Captain McLean of y^{e} 34th at Quebec & he has promised to meet me on the 24th at New York. The bully will be surprized to receive a note from me. I'm the best shot in England. I am sure to kill him, but then the dear little Woman—that ever I should —it's not a trifle that can bring tears into my eyes— to think that I should—" and then he chokes & blubbers like an idiot boy. at ½ past 9 I left him & went to bed. I heard him go to bed making his usual noise & look'd at my watch it was 2.

Monday Ap^{l} 8th Up at ½ past 6 & walk with Sully & Trott. The old drunkard sallied forth again while I am eat^{g} I took little notice of him. he observ'd it, and said he hoped he had said nothing at any time to offend me. he drank 4 cups of tea & afterwards want^{d} brandy. I objected, and ask'd him pointedly if he had not taken brandy yesterday morning. he confess'd. I told him I knew it from the smell of his breath & the wildness of his conduct. he promises me never to do it again. his promises! Wilcox, Wood, Warren call, he is lively. after they go I at his request allow him some Cider. Goes to rehearsal. Wood says Sat^{y} was 1050. "I had a strange dream last night" says Cooke "I thought an ugly old Woman was dragging me to a precipice. she pointed down the frightfull pit. I struggled & got from her." "I

wish you may" said I "the dream is a warning." William & Washington Irving arrive from Washington they call on us with Charles Nicholas. Cooke drank his pint of Wine after dinner & play'd Falstaff in the evening. I took an early supper & walk'd after it. when I return'd I found him with [John] Phillips the libraryman he was more intoxicated than when he left me and complained much of his breast. "Oh Dunlap if you had not prevented me from taking brandy this morning I should not have got through this evenings play. as it is—my voice—hah!—there are pins & needles. I must send for a physician." I prescribed bed & he promised if I would sit up with him ½ an hour he would go to bed. I did so. got rid of the man who was with him. he prepared for bed, & promised it should not be many minutes before he follow'd me. I left him.

Tuesday Ap^{l} 9th 1811. Sam tells me this morning that shortly after I left Cooke, he grew worse, was much alarm'd & sent him for Doctor [Thomas] Park[e], who when he arriv'd found him much oppress'd & breathing w^{h} great difficulty. he bled him copiously, and the old victim is now asleep & has slept soundly all night. He got up about 2, weak & low spirited. We talk'd over the incident & its cause. He promises amendment, seems convinced that nothing but temperance can save him from death in the form he has so recently approach'd. I said every thing that I though w^{d} add to the impression made by his fears. He took a light dinner & I press'd 2 glasses of Wine on him. He reads the afternoon & evening. I pass the evening at Mr S Levy's with Mr McKean, Miss [blank] Miss McKean, young McKean, Dr. Rush part of the evening.

Wed^{y} [April] 10th Up to meet Allen. Cooke up to breakfast at 9. Goes to Sully's. He takes a few glasses at dinner and goes to play Shylock. I pass the even^{g} with Mrs C B Brown. By letter from Price Cooper plays to

1270 Hamlet & is very flatteringly received. Holland writes that he is drilling the players stiffly. Cooke goes to bed by eleven.

Ap^{l} 11th Cooke & self breakfast at 9 & he goes to rehearsal. Rainy day. read Shee's Rhymes.[58] Cooke is well but not chatty. Goes at 5 to play Macbeth. It was to have been Lear but Wood is too ill to play. He return'd in high spirits, said there was a good house & the play went off charmingly.

[April] 12th When I rose at 7 I found him up making a memorandum for his benefit bill. Rather low spiritted & chilly. He went to rehears^{l} at 10 & found no one there. he was vex'd & left word that he would not return. I join'd him & called at Sully's who was out. he was waspish. I led him to the Academy of Arts & back to Sully's where I left him. He was pleasant after dinner & read. Even^{g} I pass at S Levy's the McKeans there & Mr M[oses] Levy. Cooke takes about as much pleasure at a picture exhibition as a blind man would. He call'd R[aphael] West's picture of Orlando saving his brother from the serpent & the Lioness the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus. of course the rough & masculine Oliver was to his eyes the beautiful female chain'd to the rock. The 2 last houses were Wed^{y} 870 Thursd^{y} 778. He received to day an anonymous letter from New York of whose contents he was not communicative. he exclaim'd "If he says so he is a liar." He wrote a note & sent Sam with it. This was an answer to Fennell, who was teazing him to play Iago to his Othello. The night he sup^{d} & got drunk with Fennell this was all settled in their cups & the artfull James wished to take advantage of it & reported the engagement about town with hints that Wood opposed it. He did not communicate the corresp^{ce} to me because asham'd of the commencement of the business.

Sat^{y} Ap^{l} 13th After Cooke went to rehearsal I rec^{d} a

[58] Sir Martin Archer Shee's *Rhymes on Art.*

letter from Price saying Wed^{y} nights house was very bad 560 dollars: A letter from Cooper to Cooke accompanied it, which I carried to him. He read it in the green room but said nothing of its contents, except compliments to me &c. He went as usual early to Theatre & play^{d} Glenalvon & Sir Archy well to 1200.

Sunday [April] 14th I walk before breakfast. Cooke goes to Sully at 11 & remains till dinner time sitting for Richard. After dinner Washington Irving introduced Hopkinson & Meredith just as we had nearly finish'd our bottle of Madeira. this caus'd the bringing of a second of which they drank 4 or five glasses, he drinking fast & talking stupidly, they went & young Harris of y^{e} Th. came by appointment to rehearse *Cash* with him. I drank tea walk'd & return'd. Harris went. Cooke drank until the 2d bottle was finish'd by him, except some that I threw away when he left the room. The wine gone, I requested him to take no more & urged every reason. he promis'd he would only take wine & water. he could not eat supper, but must have a basin of gruel which he takes with brandy in it. he put half a large wine glass of brandy & set down the remainder by him. I took it up & under pretence of smelling it, kept it till I had an oppertunity of pouring it on the carpet. He was now very loquacious and drunk enough to open his mind fully & talk of his grievances without being so mad & incoherent as he usually is when drunk. I sat with him until 12 OClock being determined to prevent further drinking & knowing that after that hour he could get nothing more as y^{e} bar w^{d} be shut. During this time he said that Cooper had inveigled him into an agreement when he was drunk, that he was drunk tho' not entirely so when he went on board ship, that he would have return'd to be sure but he was ashamed to return after having gone so far. "I came away without preparation, without my stage clothes as if I was running away like a criminal. Now Holman will come out after making every preparation & making a bargain by which he will put that money into

his own pocket which I have been putting into the pockets of those scoundrels. Sir, I shall have lost money by coming here, & when I go back how do I know I shall be received. To come away without seeing Mr Harris, my best friend, the man who did every thing for me, who pitted me again them all. His Son too is my friend notwithstanding he in anger published my letter fixing the time I was to play in London. No by God I will never play in New York again! Cooper has treated me unlike a gentleman. he writes to me. when? After his second night had fail'd. he writes me a fulsome congratulatory letter. they think I am a fool. He send me to this Country. never writes to me. He comes himself & remains within a 100 miles for 2 or 3 Weeks, never writes to me, takes care that I shall hear of his great first appearance by other hands, and when he fails in his second attempt he writes to me a damn fulsome letter." I combatted this idea but in vain & he proceeded "That letter I received, that enormous letter I kept from you.—I'll show it you tomorrow mor[n]ing—that warns me against playing again in New York. I am to be hissed for not playing the last night I was advertized for. the writer signs himself my friend & countryman. he advises me not to submit to be hiss'd by an American Audience. An American Audience. No by God by no Audience! They'll hiss me because I deserted them. dident they desert me first? didn't they leave me to play to empty benches. God blast them! God blast me if ever I play for them again." he says "Cooper tells the people at N. Y. that I am engaged to him for three years! Am I? I'll show him! Coopers a ferocious fellow but not so bad as Price. did I ever tell you that he struck me? He says he was drunk. I dont believe it. I hate! hate him! O I'll write such a pamphlet on my return, on the American Theatres and I'll not forget the Managers. Cooper! play with Cooper, the Wooden God! He's no player. Send me to America to play under the direction of Mr Simpson. Mr Simpson! He & Mr Cone should draw an Ass-Cart together—a fit pair! I've got among my papers a journal of my life, I wish you

GEORGE FREDERICK COOKE (1756-1811)

By William Dunlap

(Courtesy of The Players, New York)

would digest it & write my biography. it will be a strange one. My father was a Captain in the 4th Dragoons, a high Irish gentleman. he left me a little fellow to the care of my mother but I was soon my own master. that was my ruin. at Eleven I was enter'd a midshipman & went aboard a man o' war. O it will be a strange story. I'll give you all the papers. will you? Oh! Dunlap how I delight in conversation such as this, over a glass of water. I hate drunkenness. I detest it, for its consequences you'll say—true but not alone. I dislike it for itself. many an hour have I spent in studying my profession—alone—when the world has thought me drinking. I have studied the passions, Sir and all their various grades. There, Sir, is fear, so I distinguish it from surprize. now suspicion. There's attention—now rage—that is the most difficult of all. Anger, the expression is different according to the object—from the Wife to the lowest menial." I went to my room, & soon heard a loud slam of his door & then all was still.

Mond^{y} 15th Sam tells me that as soon as I was gon[e] he sent him for brandy & the bar keeper being gone & none to be had, he in a violent rage bounced to his room & bolted Sam out. He has gone to rehearsal without coming into our breakfasting room or seeing me. he took some Cider & bread & eggs in his bed Chamber. The day pass'd pretty well & he play'd Kitely [59] well to 1364 [dollars].

[April] 16th Cooke got drunk last night & to bed this morning at daybreak. Warren tells me Cooper intends to be here Sat^{y}. Wood accepts my Comedy of 40 & 20 to be play'd at his pleasure & the remuneration to be according to its success. Cooke sitting to Sully; Mrs Hopkinson present: he exerting himself to be agreable and is really so. His anecdotes rather stale. Letter to Incledon in praise of Price & America & American Theatres, in

[59] In Ben Jonson's comedy, *Every Man in His Humour.*

short in praise of every thing he curses & condemns (Mrs P excepted). Call on Trott & go to [David] Edwins to see drawings of Cooke, Jefferson & Blisset by a youth [Charles Robert] Leslie attach'd to [Samuel F.] Bradfords store This young mans talent & acquirement in original composition almost amounts to miraculous. Visit the Pensylvania Hospital. Dine at Francis's. Warren mention'd to Cooke the publication of his letter. he was anxious to see it. read it. acknowledged it & pretended to find fault with Incledon for publishing it. I left Francis's & returnd about 9 when I found him drunk & still drinking. he would not come away with me, but consented to return if I w^{d} send a coach. I did so. he came home about 10 with young Barret & Harris order'd wine, but on their going & my expostulating with him he consented to drink no more & to go to bed, which he did very quietly. The letter being before the world he now shapes his conversation to it: and his incoherences to night were repetitions of the question "Is there any thing that can offend in it? Didn't I speak of Mrs P[rice] kindly & gratefully? &c &c.

Ap^{l} 17th Walk thro' the boasted Phil^{a} Market before breakfast. Meet Arm^{t} Brown & walk to his house for a file of Englis[h] news papers. Sam comes to me for 50 doll^{s} for Mr Cooke & I find y^{t} instead of going to bed as he promised he went immediately out to a Mrs Smiths where he still is. One OClock Sam tells me he has just left the brothel & gone to Sully's. He sat to Sully but was wild all day & communicates to every one his being out last night as if he prided in it. He was moderate after dinner & went to the Theatre at the usual time, but he play'd Lear very wildly—the house thin. I saw him in the Green room & being apprehensive of further debauch I went in search of Doctor Park, who join'd me at Wood's & I sent him to the Theatre to alarm Cooke by feeling his pulse & prescribing bleeding. Carpenter & Dr Chapman at Woods. I went home & Cooke soon came. told

me he had seen his Doctor & "it is well I have. do you know? he found my pulse as it was before. he says I must be bled if there is not a change before sunday. I was going out again to night. I promised it, but I'll stay now." I went to bed.

[April] 18th The old wretch went out to his Whores again as soon as I was gone. About 10 OClock I walk'd in and found him at his breakfast. Quite sober & no hint of his having been out. I visit Mrs Brown, Mrs Mead. At the Academy. A Ceres by Wertmuller, very poor. A Street by Strickland, Views on Schuylkill by Birch junr. some Groupes of figures very abominable bad. At Sully's: Cooke sitting. Go by invitation & appointed to the Fish house on Schuylkill.[60] The ride was pleasant. we arrived at 2 & found the gentlemen of the Club Cooking beef steaks of which we partook & then walk'd with Mr Rundel[61] to see his house & grounds on the high ground above the fish house. At 3 we dined on fish Cooked by the club who serve themselves & dine under a long shed. The Mayor of the City presided, Mr [Robert] Wharton, and was very attentive to us. Curtis Clay, Jos: Clay, Messrs Worrell, Bradford, Capt Carr, Leslie (the young artist), Rundel, Wood (of Manchester: Singer), Cooke, Francis, Warren, Hardinge, &c a company of 40. The free sociality was admirable. just before sunsetting I walk'd on the bank of the river shaded overloping hill behind which a summer sun was declining. the opposite bank of Schuylkill was strongly illuminated & the objects vividly reflected in the unruffled Water. Thro' the trees which had only the scanty foliage of the season every object of the landscape was visible. Nymphlike forms in White, clambering the rocks, ploughman driving the team, distant villa's & gardens & the windings of the stream far below. One Thrush, the first I had

[60] For an account of this society, and biographical notes on its members, see *History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company of the State in Schuylkill, 1732-1888,* (Philadelphia, 1889).

[61] Richard Rundle (1747-1826).

heard this year, warbled his evening song in contrast to the boisterous sounds which reach my ear from the company carouzing in the shed. Cooke was merry & pleas'd his companions, but was drunk before the company seperated. Hardinge drove us home, as our Coachman was likewise drunk. By exerting all my influence over Cooke I got him to bed at 10 OClock. He appeal'd to me to day thus "Did you ever hear me say a word against Price?" What a strange Animal. I was call'd out to Doctor [Charles] Caldwall who interceded with me to use my influence to prevail on Cooke to play Iago w^h^ Fennels Othello. while I was absent C thought I had gone to bed & order'd a Coach to go to the brothel. he was in high dignity abusing Sam for not flying to obey him, when I enter'd the room, he instantly changed his deportment, and soon agreed to go to bed.

[April] 19th He gets up well at 12. I walk to Academy & Panorama of Boston. Wilcox invites me to dine w^h^ Cooper at 5 tomorrow. Cooke sits to Sully. George Bowen our Coachman arrives & McLean & Jones with him they take their Wine with us. Cooke to Theatre at 6 & plays Sir Pertinax Well. gets to bed drunk at 12. C's Story of Kemble offerring to bribe a person to write him down. Lord [blank] writing his brother the bishop of Durham sermon to be preach'd before the King. the repetition of this story to Mr Hopkinson & others. no Library. where is it? at Durham. Damn you have a kitchen here? "Dunlap, I'm damn'd sarcastic. I wonder I have escaped with my life. you are my preserver. independent of the obligation I owe you for your advice & kindness, I owe my life to you. they see you w^h^ me & they think I can't be bad. they spare me for your sake. Who's that with him? Dunlap. Ah its all well. Who's that? Dunlap. Who's that? &c &c repeat—repeat—repeat.

20^th^ Ap^l^ Still like June or July. To Theatre to settle to this time with Warren. Copy

1811 April	5th	Kg Lear	995.75	
	6	New way [to pay old debts]	1035. 6	
	8	Henry 4th	1020.50	
	10	Merch[t] of V[enice]	870.50	
	11	Macbeth	778...	
	13	Douglas & Love a la M[ode]	1196...	
	15	Every man (Ben J)		1365.25
	17	K[g] Lear	668...	
	19	Man of ye World	948.25	
			7512. 6	
		8 n[igh]ts @ 390	3120...	
			½ 4392. 6	2196. 3
				$3561.28

Paym[ts]

Cash for Mr	Cooke	1.12	
	Dunlap	250...	
	D°	3310.16	
			½)1365.25
		$3561.28	682.62
		682.62	
		2878.66	
		2979.30	
		$5857.96	is the gain of Cooper & Price, from which to give the nett profit, the expences of my journey & Cookes sal[y] must be deducted & the remainder is clear on y[e] Phil[a] engagement.

"I have gone fifteen nights without bolting out of the course. I shall go the sixteen now. Never did such a thing

before. Yes I did & more. The summer after my London engagement I play[d] 36 nights in 6 weeks & travel'd 2000 miles. I swept the grass the summer."

The average of the 15 n[igh]ts past is 1091 dollars. Meet Cooper at Wilcox's. Marcoe, 2 Ingersolls, 2 Wilcox's. Cooke play'd finely to night. Cooper went behind scenes to see him: he was first a little strange but soon got over it. Before Cooke came home Cooper & C Ingersol came & found me. Cooper proposed the scheme of playing here 4 nights with Cooke beginning friday night which would detain me until 1st May. I told him I would do everything to further the interest of the Co. Cooke, Cooper, Wilcox, & Ingersol sit down to supper while I go & settle with the Treasurer.

Copy

Ap[l] 20[th] Rich[d] 3[d]		997.40
Expences		390...
		½ 607.40
		$303.70
A bill for Musick to Warren	36...	
Mr Dunlap	267.70	
	$303.70	

16)17360.32
1085. 2

The average recets of the 16 nights is 1089. When I return'd I found that Cooke had cheerfully agreed to stay & play with Cooper & then return to New York & play with him. This & a variety of good humour'd chat past until Cooke becoming tipsey I left them & went to bed first ordering Bowen's carriage at 5 to carry me to Amboy, Wilcox promising to *keep* Cooke until my return.

Sunday [April] 21st The day proves showery with thunder and the roads wet. Cooper overtook me near Princeton. he says Wilcox got drunk with Cooke & they stay'd till 4 OClock. he saw Cooke before he left Phil[a]

THOMAS ABTHORPE COOPER (1776-1849)

Attributed to William Dunlap

(Courtesy of The Players, New York)

(in bed) & appointed to dine w^h^ him at 5 on thursday. Wet & dark. can get no further than Brunswick.

[April] 22d Arrive at home at 8. John left home for N. Y. at 7. All well at Amboy.

[April] 24th Wed^y^ leave home for Phil^a^ & arrive at ½ past 8. Day very warm but a violent thunder shower as we pass Frankf^t^. A lively girl in the stage which I join at Trenton. Miss Richmond of Brunswick. Find Cooke in bed. He got drunk at Mr Head's on Monday in company with Wilcox, & his spasms coming on a Physician in company bled him & he stay'd at Heads that night. Tuesday he however dined out again with Wilcox & got him [home] at 8 but was pressed to the St. George's Society which dined at Mansion House. he however got to bed about 12 & has remain'd there since. I crack'd a joke on him at the Fish house which I believe he has forgotten. I hope he has for it was not delicate before strangers altho' his propensities are so well known. Curtis Clay overset a decanter of Wine which ran down the table from Cooke. He laughing observed that it was very odd that Wine should run away from him. this attracted attention & gain'd a laugh. I ask'd "Do you know the reason?" "No, what is it." "Because you abuse it."

[April] 25th Thursd^y^ Up at ½ past 6. The old man dont rise to breakfast, but about 11 Rides out. I visit the Academy & Dr [William P.] De Wees collection of pictures. Mr Lewis's with Sully to see S's copy of Mr West's Mentor & Telemachus on the Island of Calypso. A very fine copy of an exquisite original. I have a fresh remembrance of this picture as I saw it in Mr Wests rooms 25 years ago. Sully painted this & others, copys to repay those who advanced him money to go to England. he was so scanted that he could only stay 1 year & during that time lived on bread potatoes & water. We waited dinner for Cooper till ½ past 5. after dinner Wilcox & Ingersol join us. Cooper arrives at ½ past 7, having broken down

& been delay'd. I left him & Cooke & when I return'd ½ past 10, Cooper was gone & Cooke in bed. Wilcox says that in his ride with Cooke on Sunday they found at a tavern a drunken <*pedlar*> umbrella maker who recognized Cooke & told him of seeing him in England. they embraced & C play'd his antics over & would have given the fellow all his money—105 doll[s] but that W held out his hand & received the money. Next day C did not remember it.

[April] 26th Luxury of the Warm bath. Cooke Cooper & self breakfast at 9. All go to rehearsal, where parson Abbercromby [62] attended in the stage box with Meredith & Pennington. All dine together e i C C & self. Evening I look at Theatre & find it very crowded.

[April] 27th Walk before breakfast. Meet Warren Who says the house was upwards of 1500. Call on Cooper walk with him. Find Cooke "How do you do, Sir?" "Oh not at all well, feverish all night, didn't get to sleep till after day light. Went to bed before 12 too. Ah tuesday night will come & then see when I'll tread the boards again—at least for some time. In London two nights a week was enough at three I grumbled, four I would not do. I complain'd of four nights awake to Mr Harris. I said its too much Sir. Why yes, said he, its almost as much as six at a race week in Country. there he had me. but consider Sir what I get for the race week. I do & I consider that what you get comes from here. if you hadn't play'd here you would get nothing there." Cooper requests me to write to Price that Cooke still talks of an engagement to play in Boston the 14th May & to desire Price to write to the Boston Managers on the subject & assert his claim to Cookes services at that time. Cooke & self dined alone. "I'll tell you what, Tom & I were not very clear at rehearsal. I hope we shall not do as Kemble & I once did in this play. We play'd a scene of the 3d Act

[62] Rev. James Abercrombie, D.D., assistant minister of Christ and St. Peter's Churches. *Philadelphia Directory for 1811.*

in the 2d. I was frighten'd out of my wits. we are wrong says I—go on—says he—when we came off I cried "Good god do you know what we have done? we have play'd the scene of the third act" "I know it" says John very cooly "and what shall we do in the 3d Act?" "play the second." We did so. And the best of the Joke the papers never noticed it. After his pint of wine he went off to play Stukely. He says Abercromby was at rehearsal again to day. Call at the Theatre. The house appear'd about 1200.

Sunday Ap^{l} 28th Walk to the Southward of the City down the River. Dine with Wilcox present his sister brother, C Ingersol, Cooper, Cooke, Wood. We had some sprightly nay witty flashes & stories. Owen Owen—o,n,o,n, —n,o,n,o, Cooke told me long since of his having introduced the exploded lines in Falstaff (Merry Wives), of remarking that it pop'd into his head <*to tell*> & he could not resist the wish to repeat them. he tells the story to day as being the effect of a wager or bet which he gains by so doing. He left Wilcox's with me about 10 perfectly sober, sat down to read, eat a slight supper, drank some wine & water & went to bed.

[April] 29th Walk. The old beau got up to breakfast. Doctor Caldwell call'd to ask him to take leave of the Audience. Cooke told him he should not play at New York, that his next playing would be at Boston, 9 nights to close their Theatre. Have a consultation with Cooper as to the means of inducing old whimsey to change his purpose. "If he will not play at N. Y.—very well—there's an end—but I'll be damn'd if he shall play in Boston." He began a letter to Cooke proposing to him to play 4 n[igh]ts in N. Y. one of them for his benefit as before but warranted to yield him 1000 & then to play till 10th June at Baltimore & only to play henceforward 2 n[igh]ts a week. I advised him to see Wilcox & get him to talk to Cooke. When I came to dinner I found from Cooper that he had had some talk on the business but while he is telling me Cooke came up. At Dinner Cooke mention'd that

he would go with Cooper in his carriage. in the morning he was resolv'd that he would not. He abuses at dinner time the House the servants &c in the most blackguard style & eats scarcely any thing. Blast the meat & the Cook. God eternally blow up &c &c. At supper this was repeated, or rather while waiting for Cooper. I left him. He has given a clear proof by his conduct since Wed^{y} y^{e} 24 that he can command his desire for Wine or spirits & restrain himself tho' even his belov'd port is before when the motive is to him sufficient. To be able to play in his best style by the side of Cooper he has abstain'd from drunkenness, the fear of sickness is not sufficient, even death he thinks he can put off because bleeding has reliev'd him so instantaineously. However it must be confess'd that the bleeding & fright of Monday the 22d may have operated somewhat to this time.

Tuesday Ap^{l} 30th I send to know if he breakfasts with me. he returns answer that Cooper breakfasts with him at 10. Now as Cooper sup'd with him I augur favourably. Cooper breakfasted together. I left them. Mrs Levy call'd me in. Mary Jackson came in. Cooper call'd on Mrs Levy & when I was going made an appointment with me "sur le pavé" in Chesnut Street. I visited at Mrs Meads, she reads to me her husbands account of the late (1st March) battle near Cadiz. Meet Cooper he says he began by convincing Cooke that his 10 months engagement with him even if the voyages to & from Europe were to be included left him till July in this Country & engaged & that consequently his Boston engagement for 14th May was a nullity. This agreed to, Cooper began to point out his plan of operations, first so many nights New York, then to Baltimore "No! damn me if I go to Baltimore. Curse me if I go to Baltimore. I'll be damn'd if I go to Baltimore. I wont go to Baltimore" After letting him go on till tired it was only to state, the am^{t} of salary during the time, the am^{t} of Benefits, the injury that would occur if he dissapointed the people of Baltimore &c & he yielded without difficulty, so all was settled.

Cooper is to drive him to New York Tandem & then back here & on to Baltimore Tandem & all is as cosey as possible. At Dinner he talks to me of going to Baltimore with all the sang froid imaginable. Evening Cooper's benefit, Othello, in house 1292.

Wed[y] [May 1] preparatory business to departure

Copy

"Mr Cooper's engagement

1811 Ap[l] 26[th] Othello		1504.76
27[th] Gamester		1193...
29[th] Venice preser[d]		1312...
		4009.76
3 N[igh]ts Expences @ 390		1170...
	⅓	2839.76
		946.58
Ap[l] 30[th] Othello	1292.30	
Deduct Expence	390...	
	902.30	
Mr Cook	116...	
	1018.30	
	946.58	
	1964.88	
P[d] Cooper	502.63½	
	$1462.24½	

Rob[t] Pullen, May 1, 1811

Leave Phil[a]. Cooke goes with Cooper. arrive at Brunswick 11 OClock night.

Thursday 2d May. Embark in Steam boat at 6 & arrive at home Perth Amboy at 9 OClock.

I came up to N. Y. Monday the 6th May the night of which Cooke was advertised for Richard & Cooper for Richmond. Price told me he (Cooke) had been very

drunk last night & that he was afraid of him this morning. I call'd on him about 12 OClock & found him drinking Wine & intoxicated from the last night. He apologized for the early drinking & said he had eat Beef & consider'd himself as having dined & would not eat or drink until after the play. He rode with Cooper. I dined at Prices & return'd to the Coffee house to Cooke before 5 found him drink^{g} & in fact drunk but good natur'd & I did not leave him till deposited in the dressing room with Cooper. He got through the business without betraying himself to the Audience. He kept it up tuesday & tuesday night & Wed^{y} I went to look after him again at 11 OClock he was in bed & in high spirits. appointed 2 to go & visit Mrs Price whom he had not seen since he quitted the House. I reminded him of having Price & Cooper to dine with him which he had forgotten. He was much pleas'd with getting over the interview with Mrs Price & we all dined together but could not control his drinking & at ½ past 5 he came drunk to the Theatre Cooper frighten'd at the prospect of his destroying the business and disgracing himself. he however recover'd & play'd charmingly. in house 1578. on Monday 1374.

This strange animal when pleasantly gay will take up a chain of subjects, one always suggesting the other & go over them day after day with a little variation without any apparent consciousness of having told the listener the same thing again & again. Talk of a fire that has consumed a house in N. Y. and he begins. "Was it not very odd that Drury should be burnt so soon after Covent G^{n}. I was absent from London on both occasions. Incledon swears I had a hand in both & kept away. I was at —— When Covent Garden was burnt & I had just arrived at —— when the news of the destruction of Drury Lane arrived. Wilkinson says to me—young Wilkinson you know—Tates son—Have you heard any news from London? No, I dont expect letters till tomorrow. Drury Lane is burnt. my blood ran cold. Was it not very strange so soon after the other. There's a mystery about it. I firmly believe they were both set on fire on purpose—by whom I do not pretend to say. The bookseller is firmly of that opinion. it was a noble thing of the Duke of Northumberland, he lent John [Kemble] thousand pound and what was most extraordinary, on the day that the corner stone of the new House was laid he sent him the bond. For he was always noted for closeness. you knew him—your Lord Percy at Lexington

—Col[l] of the 5th red faced with [blank] His mother gave him a rub once. she wrote to him to know why he did not draw upon her agent for money. he answer'd that he did not want it—his pay was sufficient. She replied that such œconomy might be very commendable in the Col[l] of a marching Reg[t] but was very unworthy the heir of Northumberland. His officers play'd him a trick when he first join'd his regiment. It is customary for the Col[l] to give a dinner to all the Officers. He order'd one at [blank] a head. The officers told the Landlord to provide at [blank] a head. His Lordship was surprized to find every delicacy that the Country afforded, but when the bill came he saw the trick, bit his lip & paid it. John deserves his good fortune, he's a noble fellow. He says if he had been made a priest he would have been a Cardinal. Yes, says I, a pope. And thus he runs on and the same idea's produce each other at all times without the smallest attention to his having before repeated them to the same person again & again.

the bottle, that omnipotent leveller of distinctions as well as men

in 1811 (Aug[t]) the difference between Bank of Eng[d] Notes and Specie was as £414 to £317 of gold.

O, Sir, thats nothing—a London printer advertized a Lying in Hospital for the Soldiers of the Life Guards only making the Trifling omission of "the Wives of".

Nov[r] 23[d] 1812. Cooper ask'd me for an additional verse to my song of Yankee Chronology [63] to be sung in my interlude of "Huzza for the Constitution" on the 25th. I write the following

'Twas the year eighty three twenty fifth of November
Saw the Armies of England to these shores bid adieu
Ye Men of Columbia with an honest pride remember
That the blessings *then* purchased *now* depend upon you.

[63] Nine stanzas of "Yankee Chronology" were written by Dunlap for the Fourth of July, 1812, and a tenth, with an introductory interlude, was added in celebration of the victory of the frigate *Constitution* over the British frigate *Guerrière*. These were printed by David Longworth in December, 1812, in a sixteen-page pamphlet, called *Yankee Chronology; or, Huzza for the Constitution,* together with this additional stanza, sung on November 25, 1812, the anniversary of the British evacuation of New York City.

May the Sons of this City, each return of this day Sirs,
When Washington led home their brave sires by the hand
On the Altar of Freedom swear for ever and aye Sirs
That a foreign foe shall never rest his foot on this Land.

Dined with Cooper for the purpose of taking down memoranda of Cooke.[64] Waited upon Mrs Cooper [65] to her father's. Evening an hour at the Theatre.

[Nov.] 24th Make out for Inskeep the title page of the Memoirs of Cooke for advertising. Inskeep offers me for the Work (and I accept) a sum from 4 to 500 dollars not to be less than four.

Memoirs of the life of
George Frederick Cooke Esqr
late of the Theatre Royal Covent Garden London.
Composed, from Manuscript journals &
notes written by himself and from other
authentick sources of information by
William Dunlap

For number of lines & words in Tate Wilkinsons pages see p. 76. [From page 76 of the manuscript:] 35 lines of 7 words makes 245 words to a page duodecimo. 290 such pages made a vol: of Tate Wilkinson
One written page of mine on letter paper make 27 lines of 10 words e i 270 words.

Novr 25th The usual military parade & rejoicing took place to day. Our volunteers appear like soldiers in reality such is the effect of the spirit created by the War.

[64] George Frederick Cooke died in New York City, September 26, 1812, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, where Edmund Kean, in 1821, erected a monument to his memory. *N. Y. Evening Post,* Sept. 27, 1812; Dunlap's *Memoirs of the Life of Cooke,* II, 383 *ff.*

[65] Mrs. Thomas Abthorpe Cooper (Mary Fairlie) was the eldest daughter of James Fairlie (1757-1830) and of Maria (Yates) Fairlie. She married the actor, June 13, 1812. J. N. Ireland, *A Memoir of the Professional Life of Thomas Abthorpe Cooper* (*Dunlap Society Publications,* no. 5, N. Y. 1888); *The N. Y. Weekly Museum,* June 20, 1812; John Schuyler, *Institution of the Society of the Cincinnati . . with extracts . . from the Transactions of the N. Y. State Society.* (N. Y. 1886), pp. 199-201.

MRS. THOMAS ABTHORPE COOPER (MARY FAIRLIE)

By William Dunlap

(From the Collection of The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Chio, the gift of J. H. Wade)

[Nov.] 27th Paint & write on Cookes memoirs. Since I moved my family to town I have begun but two portraits, now nearly a month.

When mentioning the Fire at Richmond, notice the attacks of the time on the Theatre. Millers &c. refutation.

When Cooke in his cups used to rail at American Managers & Theatres & Actors he used to exclaim: I'm preparing a pamphlet, when I get to London I'll blow up your Managers and your Theatres & your actors and your blasted Country. I can hold a pen. I scourge your damn'd yankee manners &c" We were safe enough from Cookes abuse because of his indolence, otherwise he might have added to the list of Dunces who have visited us and thought to make themselves acceptable at home by abusing a Country that all Europe envies and that England hates Europe envies the New World a prosperity and freedom which its age & vices renders it incapable of rivalling and in addition to the motives common with all Europe, the envy of England is turned against the vigorous younger brother who prosperously resisted an elder brothers tyranny and wresting the rod from his hand with which he threaten'd chastisement, bestow'd <*it on himself*> the lashes on the threatener.

The list of Dunces who have made themselves ridiculous by or contemptible by the weak or malignant falshoods publish'd as descriptive of those whose hospitality they receiv'd and abused while in the Western hemisphere may with propriety be here given. George Frederick even if he could have had virtue enough to work, I think was not vicious enough to have added to the contemptible list.

Here the names

part of Garricks prologue to Shirley's excellent Comedy of the Gamester which he revived, is with a little alteration so much in point that I must insert it.

When ever Englishmen take pen in h[an]d
To give a sketch of you and this our Land,
One settled maxim through the whole you see
To wit—Their great superiority!
Urge what you will they obstinately say
That you ape them—and are less wise than they:
Tis thus these well bred Journal writers use us
They trip o'er here with half an eye peruse us
Eat with us, drink our wine, and then abuse us.

C [illegible] feasted flatter'd & lampoon'd

perhaps that account of America in Quarterly review a good note

Nov^{r} 29th 1812. I yesterday [gave] D Longworth my Interlude & Song of Yankee chronology to publish. Paint on Mrs Price's picture. Cooke appears to have been absent from London the season of 1807-8. M[onthly] M[irror] Vol 3 Dec^{r} 19th 1807. Kemble play'd Iago in consequence of Cookes absence first time. preference given to Cooke and his absence lamented. page 51 to 53. Cooke said to be in Appleby Gaol. p: 60. Cooke is said to have been liberated by Rock & playing at Glasgow. In his journal he says he played at Glasgow Dec^{r} 30th 1807. 1st Vol M[onthly] M[irror] O[ld] S[eries] 1795. "They lament the absence of the *excellent* and *unfortunate* Cooke. Same Vol 373 congratulates the public on his return to Manchester. "His irregularities while in Dublin &c. M M Vol. 2, 1796. p. 507. Married Mr Cooke to Miss Daniels, both of the Chester Theatre.

Dec^{r} 6th [1812] Murphy's pages, Life of Garrick are 19 lines of 8 words that

$$\begin{array}{r} 19 \\ 8 \\ \hline 152 \end{array}$$

words & from 4 to 16 such pages make a chapter.

[Dec.] 7th Receive the glorious acc^{t} of another Naval victory gain^{d} by our gallant tars. Decatur in the United States has bro^{t} in the English frigate Macedonian having taken her in <*17 minutes*> after a cannonading of 19½ hours. Afternoon w^{h} Cooper writing of Cooke.

[Dec.] 8th By request for the Theatre a Song called American Tars.[66]

<*Sound aloud the trump of Fame*
Again repeat each Hero's name!
Whose manly breasts by wrongs arous'd
Their injur'd countrie's cause espous'd>

[66] Printed with the title "Yankee Tars" at the end of Dunlap's *Yankee Chronology; or, Huzza for the Constitution* (N. Y., Dec. 1812, pp. 16). A printed note states that it was sung by Mr. Yates at the New York Theatre, December 10, 1812.

When nature kind goddess first shap'd this <*round*> big ball
In fanciful mood <*she flooded the Earth*> good and ill she bestow'd
Assured that she never could satisfy all
<*Her own fav'rite clime she with blessings*>
She one favourite Land with all blessings endow'd

2d

She call'd it Columbia and swore before Jove
That the rest of the world <*should but labour for that*> for this Country should toil
Thro' Asia & Afric & Europe her love
<*And collect*> Sought for us choicest gifts from each clime & each soil

3d

<*She made us the*>
<*But chiefly from Europe she graced us with good*
As the refuge for Liberty, science and laws,
As the Country of arts and the [blank] *of arms*
Then as surety for Truth Justice & Liberty's cause
She planted our bosoms with true Yankee hearts.>
Our Country she made the Assylum of laws
The home of <*proud*> fair liberty science and Arts,
Then as surety, for <*injured*> Truth & Humanity's cause
She planted our bosoms with true yankee hearts.

4th

She then <*thus address'd*> with these words made the Welken to ring
You have now every blessing that I can bestow
Tis yours to preserve and a Navy's the thing
That <*shall*> your rights shall <*preserve*> protect from each insolent foe.

[5th]

She said & twas done. Then the Barbary shore
Saw such daring as rival'd Antiquity's <*fame*> name.
But the war for the rights of our Tars <*on the sea*> gives once more
<*Gives*> To our Tars <*to renown*> a fair field to outdo ancient fame!

6th

<*When Britain the prince first of her frigates sent out*
And threaten'd a beating to all Yankee boys
On her mainsail the gueriere all proudly appear'd>
<*her name seemed the breezes to flout*

& with challenger words &c> *<occasional noise>*
See the Cruisers of Britain with threatening air
Sweep the seas & defy us with thundering noise!
The Gueriere *<in letters all painted>* her name on her mainsail so fair
<Threate> Cries death *<& destruction>* or submission to all yankee boys.

7th

But *<the brave>* *<gallant>* bold Captain Hull and his *<brave>* *<gallant>* bold yankee tars
<Show'd his> Prov'd her masts were all *<damaged>* heartless and heartless her men
And the Gueriere soon *<saw the end of her>* bad farewell to all wars,
Justice triumph'd & justice will triumph again!

8th

Next *<came>* brave captain Jones *<in>* met the frolic one day
And her masts too prov'd weak & *<her men were all sick>* too weak were her men
<At least so it seem'd for she yielded the fray>
At least very soon men & masts shot away
<seamen a chill pretty quick>
<And our shot> Valour triumph'd and valour shall triumph again prov'd that Yankee must triumph &c.

9th

The Hero of Tripoli next met the foe
And twas just the same story told over again
Of fighting they scarcely could make out a show
When *<her>* their masts were all gone, kill'd or wounded her men!

10th

Tis thus *<our brave>* Yankee tars shall th^{r} Country protect
And the rights of the seas on a sure basis place
The vauntings & threatenings of Britain be check'd
<While> And a Navy & Commerce *<our Country>* Columbia shall grace

Dec^{r} 9th [1812] W W Woolsey arrived last evening & takes his home with us. The weather is almost summer. We look for Decaturs Prize the frigate Macedonian to day. I was much pleas'd yesterday with the hearty joy express'd by many at this succession of proofs that our Navy is so efficient as to individual officers & ships. O

Woolcot was as ever heartily a rejoicer, but alas there are many of our citizens who had rather the triumph had been with the enemy!

[Dec.] 10th Inskeep gave me the follow^{g} saying he had been making a calculation about the book

2 Vol^{s} 600 pages print^{g}		$300
60 Reams paper @ 5		300
bind^{g} 2000 Vols 25 cts.		500
		1100
Engraving		50
		$1150
1000 Copies @ 2	2000	
	1150	
	$850	

from this I infer that he does not <*conclude*> think that any bargain is concluded between us.

Dec^{r} 21st I had some days ago an explanation with Inskeep & find that he did not consider himself as at all bound to me & that he would not even give me $200 for the work.

Jan^{y} 1st 1813. The weather mild. The wind long at West changed yesterday & this morning the United States & her prize the Macedonian through *Helle Gat* & safe into Harbour. I dined a few days ago at Mr O. Wolcots in company with Hull & Decatur but had not an oppertunity of conversation with either.

[Jan.] 5th Cookes life. Millers sermon—pure adoration, not prayer, adoration which lifts the heart in thankfulness to its incomprehensible creator & sinks it in humble submission to his will. I call'd on David Longworth and talked over the business of publishing the life of Cooke, having before mention'd it to his son Thomas. He offer'd

me three hundred dollars and if highly successfull another hundred. I promised him an answer in 48 hours.

[Jan.] 6th Call at Inskeep's & found him return'd from Phila after some conversation respecting the book he offer'd me as his ultimatum two hundred dollars. Both Longworth & Inskeep exclude themselves from any right to interfere in my publication of the same in England. Dine at Mrs Bradley's by invita[tion] of Mr Roe, my son with me: he return'd home from Genesseo the last day of the last year and is assisting me by copying Cookes life for England. I was [with] Cooper yesterday and he is to write to Marshal & engage him to publish the work in London on a sharing scheme in regard to profit.

Jany 8th 1813. This is the first severely cold day we have had this winter & it is not unpleasant. Send a letter to James Marshall, No. 3 Southampton Street, Cambden Town near London with an introductory line from Cooper, and mention my wishes respecting the publication of Cooke's life in England. Made the following bargain with David Longworth. He is to give me for the first edition of Cookes life not exceeding 2000 copies, $300. I am not to publish a second edn until his first is disposed of & am then to give him the refusal in making a bargain for such publication.

"As my admiration of the german dramatists was not influenced by the english writers my opinions have been unchanged by them: and as I never appreciated these saxon bards higher than the old English play writers, I feel no inclination to join with the hue & cry against them & deprecate them to a level with the modern drama manufacturers of <*England*> Britain. I can proudly say that I translated for my Theatre the german dramatists as preferable to the modern english play makers but neve[r] in preference or to the exclusion of the old english dramatic writers or of the better specimens of the talents of Cumberland, Holcroft & the Colmans or of any production of R B Sheridan.

Jany 11th Write to Warren and S Powel for information relative to Cooke:

"One of the most extraordinary traits in the character of this extraordinary man is <*his*> that ability which he possessed of seizing the perfect image of the <*character*> person he would represent and identifying it with his own feelings so as to express every emotion designed by the author as if that emotion was his own. And all this as if by intuition for nobody knew of his studying except in that hasty & desultory manner which his journal at times indicates. But his perception was uncommonly quick & his earlier observations on men & passions must have been uncommonly accurate. I have before observed that in seeing actors their faults were lessons to him & suggested by a representation of the <*wrong*> false what the true must be. His perception of the natural & his power of seperating it from the artificial must have been originally very great. And as <*an*> a friend, highly distinguished in our literary world most ingeniously remarked to me, Cooke when he improved his own playing by what he had seen excellent in other players did not imitate those players but only seized what he saw natural in them and made it his own in his own manner.

Had a pleasant interview with Washington Irving this morning preparatory to writing a letter to Peter which I now do.

Jan^{y} 14th Our first Snow Storm. I yesterday received a note from J. H Payne & went to see him. He is going to England in the Cartel ab^{t} sailing. 2000 d^{s} have been advanced by friends to carry him thither, as his passport expresses it "for histrionic purposes and literary pursuits connected therewith." He has a plan for publishing a book on the manners Society literature Drama &c of America.

[Jan.] 17th Mild & beautiful weather. Wrote yesterday a second note to P. Irving, stating the size & materials of my book & pressing an immediate bargain for it.

23^{d} January. Still spring like weather. Receive a notification that I am elected an honorary member of our Academy of Arts. Ride to Greenwich to see Mrs Cooke. she was in town.

Sunday 24th Janʸ 1813. Rain. Warm. For Cookes release from Appleby see Cabinet Vol. 3d p: 110. Cooke & Young. Cookes benefit, Edinburgh. Dº London. p: 426. Kent p: 428.

[Jan.] 25th Sent first sheet of Cooke's life to the press. Wrote to Twaits. Weather rainy & warm. Price gives me anecdotes, at Simpson's lodgings where I accidentally met him, of Cooke.

[Jan.] 26th Snow storm. Write Longworth a memorandum of our agreement.

Charles Incledon dress'd in the room with me, but as I <*couldn't*> cant sing & he cant act we didn't interfere in our dressing. If he <*play'd*> went on for any thing the same night I play'd it was after I had done or if he was in any of the Sing song things of first pieces I had nothing to do at all. Cooke desired that a ring which he had from C[harles] Kemble might be sent to him & Mrs Cooke gave it to Mr Price for that purpose. Mrs Cooke has sent the marked book of The Man of the World to Mr [John Philip] Kemble.

Cook's Mother & Aunts. The Miss Renton Daughters of the Laird of Renton liv'd at Lamberton. The Aunts were his mother's sisters with whom he lived.

Horatius Drunk 1808.

Return'd from Philª 1st time May 1811. Play'd in N. Y. Went with Cooper to Baltimore playᵉ till 10 June. N. Y. 3 Nᵗˢ 4th July Rockaway. retᵈ N. Y. went to Albany (sat out) saturday by steam boat. drunk & quarrelsome. 1 Week at Albany & 3 at Greenbush. To Ballston for 2 days & then to Saratogo and Lake George. At this time Doige was at Albany & Cooke relieved him by employing a physician for him and giving him money. New York in Fall 1811, Sepʳ 2ᵈ

Fourth July 1811 at Rockaway at Tylers.

At what time married.[67]

Up to Albany, Green bush, used to cross over & get in scrapes

To Lake George Ballston

Goes to Boston Novʳ 1811 [*sic* for Philadelphia]

Came back in decʳ to take his baggage & go to E. Returning from

[67] Cooke married Mrs. V. M. Behn, daughter of James Bryden, keeper of the Tontine Coffee House, New York City, in New York, on Thursday evening, June 20, 1811. [N. Y.] *Commercial Advertiser,* June 24, 1811.

Lake George he staid a week drunk at Albany beyond the time intended.

5th July 1812 sat off for Providence by Water was from Sunday to Wedy After one frolic play'd 9 Nts regularly [Snelling] Powel[l] & [James] Dick[enson's] Man[age]rs business good often 150 Ds shared half & had a clear bent began on Monday play'd 9 nights 3 times a Week & then to Boston for 3 days; Before he left N Y the dropsical symptoms had encreased and they continued 8 Weeks in bed eating & drinking but wd not get up. When he got up to have his bed made complained of giddiness but sometimes would get up & sit up part of the night.

Allison Renton

To Holland wh an Uncle a brother of his mother.

Sent his love to Harris, C Kemble & M Brandon on his death bed

In September (early) returned to N. Y. and died.

26th $1400

Used to be cross to Powell & Dickenson & curse them to their faces.

Moll I'm shot, but Cooper is down. always believed that he was touch'd by the ball & they dared not undeceive him.

I wont fall to night. I'll give it to Simpson & they would have to throw him down (in Richard)

After coming from Boston agrees to play but will not. goes to bed & will not get up & orders the doors lock'd. Price bursts the door. "What do you mean Sir &c. Cooper comes all in vain. he will not play or get up.

Appleby. Westmorelds Marquis of Lansdown's tenant Sign of the Weathercock. [illegible] in his Lordships [illegible] This is the old Weathercock.

Foote & my Lords cape wine. Very old. small glasses—you dont drink. I am thinking my Lord how very little it is considering its great age.

Cooke 29th Sepr 1806. Richard allusion to misconduct of last season. play left unsupported. "Is this tragedy so miserably attended to in the cast because Mr Cooke plays Richard? Well be it so. The *Kings name* is a tower of strength which they upon the adverse faction want."

Jany 30th 1813 Cold & clear with about 6 inches of snow on the ground which [fell] on the night of ye 28th

Cooke invited to a pleasure party in a sail boat declines—he <dont> has an antipathy to Water.

When his dropsy was confirmed. "How the devil doctor should I come by this Water—I never drank any.

"Titty, Tiffin,
Keep it Stiff in;
Fire drake Puckey,
Make it luckey;
Liard, Robin,
You must bobin."

Drury Lane was built 1662: destroyed by fire 1672: Rebuilt 1674: pulled down 1791. rebuilt 1794: Burnt down 25th Febr 1809.

Covent Garden built 1733 enlarged 1792: Burnt 1808.

20th of June married by Barry, Bryden not knowing it.

Second visit to Boston he was attended by Powell. They had a terrible Snow Storm & put into New London. Powell goes on to Boston & advertises him. Cooke stays and Powell has to come back for him.

Febr 2d 1813. Walk to Greenwich to see Mrs Cook and bring home with me (or rather send by Stage) a trunk of his books. get more Manuscript.

[Feb.] 3d Walk again to Greenwich look over Mr Cookes letters & select a bundle & bring home. Get more Manuscript.

[Feb.] 4th A Thaw. Cooke's Dream. He asleep & drunk. The Characters passing in review. some inviting him & pointing with fear to Kemble, others prefering Kemble.

Sign of Washington. you could not do it worse. Cookes laugh knows me to be an Artist.

Febr 9th "Estimate of the expence of printing a monthly publication of 64 pages in the form of the London Mirror. Calculation for one number. by Mr [David] Carlisle.

Printing 1000 copies including covers for do . .	70. . .
9⅓ Rms paper @ 5.50	51.13
paper for covers say	2. . .
Folding & Stitching 1000	6. . .
	$129.13
plate & printing	30.87
Extra's	10.
	$170. . .

500 Subscribers @ 50 cts each number		250...
200 Subscribers obtained by Longworth, at 50 p^{r} C^{t}		50...
100 Copies sold D^{o}		25...
		325...
	deduct	170.
Gain per Month		$155...

and 200 Copies unsold.

If I lose by bad debts 55 dollars I still make 100 per Month.

Feb^{y} 10th Had proposals printed for the work whose expence is estimated on the last page. To be called the Monthly Recorder.[68]

[Feb.] 13th According to agreement made with D[avid] Longworth this day, he is to publish the Monthly recorder & to obtain subscribers & sell the work for 33⅓ on his receits. He to obtain subscribers & deliver copies & collect money at his expence.

printing &c		129.13
plates & printing		35.87
Distributing & collecting		10...
		175...
500 subscribers	250	
200 D^{o} D. L. @ ⅓ off	66	
100 sold @ ⅓ off	33	
		349...
		174...
Deduct bad debts		50...
per month		$124...

[68] Five numbers of *The Monthly Recorder* were published, April through August, 1813. They were re-issued, with a title page reading: *A Record Literary and Political, of five months in the year 1813,* By William Dunlap and others. New York, printed for the Proprietor, by David Carlisle.

[Feb.] 14th Write Doctor Irving.

Cooke I observe that you always claim your part in Shakespere. What part has an American in Shakespere

D. If a descendant from Englishmen, the same as an Englishman. I have as full participation in old English glory as you. Shakespere & Milton, Locke Bacon & Newton, the Harry's, Edwards, the Marlsboroughs &c &c were the contemporarys of my ancestors as of yours, and all the glow which animates an Englishman on hearing those names is mine as well as his.

C. So, so, so, & when do you make the line of separation.

D. The year 1776. I have no participation in Britain since then. Yet still her language, her monuments, her best fame is the fame of my forefathers. Of what has past since 1776 I may admire but I do not envy. I am content with the happiness of my Country.

Febr 15th Deliver this day to Thos. W. Moore to be deliver'd to Mr Baker if Mr Baker will promise to deliver the same to Peter Irving & Co at Liverpool, or Geo: M: Woolsey, a Bundle containing the 1st Vol: of "Memoirs of the Life of George Frederick Cooke, late of the Theatre Royal Covent Garden. By William Dunlap. Composed, principally, from Journals and other Authentic documents left by Mr Cooke, and the personal knowledge of the Writer." consisting of 287 written pages exclusive of preface. A Miniature of Cooke & 2 letters 1 to P. Irving the other to G M Woolsey. *Not deliver'd.*

Drury Lane 20th Sepr 1747
When Learnings triumph
Each change
Existence saw
His powerful

[Feb.] 17th "When learnings Triumph o'er her barbarous foes first rear'd the stage.

Doctor Johnson thought that to rear the stage was a triumph over barbarism. The invention of a new mode by which to communicate knowledge to men, he thought, was a triumph gain'd by learning over Ignorance. And he thought justly. Doctor S. Johnson was a moral man, a religious man, a learned man & a wise man. He saw in

the stage the second great engine by which mankind were to be instructed, the third followed in the regular progress of human improvement and secured the triumph of learning, the press was the completion of the triumph of learning and the security. But for the press, the "triumph of learning over her barbarous foes" would have been vain, and the Stage ere this with Music, Statuary, painting & poetry would have been swept from the earth by Ascetick fanaticism or barbarian ignorance.

How deplorable the state of a man who knows his weakness yet deliberately rushes on to crime. Makes preparation to guard against part of the evil instead of refraining from the cause of the whole. C <*would*> put his money out of his power by way of preventing himself from robbing himself when in a state ubriation. Then go and produce the madness & endeavour to undo the caution he had taken. In 1809 on his arrival at Liverpool he gave his money in charge to the lady who kept the board^{g} house at which he staid, charging her not to give him any if he demanded it when drunk. This making provision for vice is absolutely more abominable than any degree of accidental crime. The wretched man thinks he may now safely proceed to the filthy stye because he has secured his money, & health & reputation are deliberately put out of the account. So in this instance C goes to his old haunt—some Kearney's —and <*late*> at night comes to his lodgings & demands 50 g^{s}. the Lady refuses—he entreats & threatens & then goes off & procures a warrant & police officers & returns to demand the money it was still refused & the doors shut on him. The next day he came back in all the shame of fruitless repentance, beg'd pardon & return'd thanks to the lady of the house.

Feb^{y} 19th 1813. I am this day Forty seven years of age and enter upon my forty eight year.

[Feb.] 20th Another naval victory[69] having been obtained I have another application for a verse in addition to my "Yankee Chronology" for the Theatre. I gave the following

After Hulls verse

In october the Wasp met the Frolic one day Sirs
And her masts too prov'd weak and too weak proved her men
At least masts & men very soon shot away Sirs
Proved to Justice & Jones a fair triumph again.

[69] The U. S. frigate *Constitution*, Captain William Bainbridge, captured the British frigate *Java*, December 29, 1812.

The hero of Tripoli next met the foe Sirs
And, tis still the same story told over again,
Of Battle they scarce can make one hour's show Sirs
When Decatur rode Lord o'er the lords of the main.
Then Huz[a]

See our tried constitution, Sirs, again in December,
Sustaining the rights of mankind on the Sea,
When Bainbridge gave Britain, Sirs, a cause to remember,
That sailors fight best when they fight to be free!
See the Java so proud full of brave British hearts, Sirs,
All fierce to contend for the garland of fame,
And in vain! See our thunder, how it rends & disparts her!
And the wreathe is entwined with brave Bainbridge's name!
Then Huzza!

Wealth and luxury abound in our country and in no part of it more than in this great commercial city. Taste does not go hand in hand with them, but ostentatious luxury is little less than ridiculous without taste. A great house may be procured by the possessor of wealth which shall be if he does not interfere too much with his Architect free from ridiculous misproportions or monstrous ornaments, household furniture may be procured which shall be of the newest patterns from France or England and ostentatiously display at first view the costliness of their fashion & material, but after all this when you look for those indications of true taste which combine instruction with delight & approach the splendid frame in hopes of seeing an effort of art worthy of the ostensible wealth of the Host, you find a chinese copy of an european colour'd print or some tawdry mishapen pieces of needle work figures with daubed faces or the awkward copies which Miss made from her drawing Master's models while at boarding school.

March 1st 1813. In summing up remember Cookes orthoepe-acting manner of studying marked parts—intended play.

[March] 5th Breakfast with [Dr. David] Hosack and he engages a letter for my life of Cooke—description of his decease & death & anecdotes communicated to Dr [John W.] Francis by Cooke on his death bed.

[March] 10th [James] Eastburn's reading room: became a subscriber on the 5th. He promises to forward my Recorder. Mr O Wolcot says that Captn Hull asserts that there were (I think) 30 American seamen on board the first 2 English frigates taken. When Captn. [James R.] D'Acres came on board the Constitution H asked him "are there any Americans on board?" D'A. said yes & set down & wrote the names of 12 from memory (of course known to be Americans) 17 were found on board— 12 acknowledged & immediately set free & 5 set free by Habeas Corpus on their arrival at Boston. 1 was killed in the action. only one went below.

March 28th See "The War" for Jany 26th for Naval Estimates.

[March] 29th Story of Kemble & D'Egville pantomime Robinson Crusoe. Poll, Poll

Apl 5th On the 27th Mar: Govr [Simon] Snyder laid before the Legislature of Pennsylvania a letter, dated at Harrisburg Mar: 25th from Genl Arthur Sinclair, expressing his thanks for the unsolicited aid given to him by a grant &c Nat: Int: Mar 23d Verses.

> To strive against bad education's in vain
> See the lufs how he's got at his old tricks again!
> If I didn't see, would I believe that he took it,
> See! See! how the luf swims away with the bucket.

Mar: 31st the English landed on Barnegat & killed & carried off a number of Cattle.

Apl 3d 2 English Frigates showed themselves in Boston Bay. Govr Shelby. Mar: 16th 1500 men, and Genl Clay for Chillecothe.

Wm Newton aged 73

New York Gaz 3d Apl Fort. S. Hook

Apl 10th I Gave to Captn Brown of the ship Braganza for Lisbon a packet containing the whole of the proof sheets of "Cookes Life" and he is to send the packet by

the best oppertunity to P Irving or to G M Woolsey, Liverpool. I wrote directing, as before immediate publication. One week ago I sent a similar packet by the Ohio, favour'd by Mrs [blank], And three weeks ago I sent by Mr Guest a passenger in the Pacific the compleate Manuscript with letters & to the same gentlemen.

May 7th [1813] Yesterday the first number of the Monthly recorder made its appearance. This first number will cost me

Postage	1.12½
Paper	60...
D° Covers	4...
Folding & stitching	6...
Plate & printing	30.87½
Printing 1200	75
Proposals, advertisemts distributing &c	25
	202

16
1200)20200
1200
8200
7200
1000

seventeen pence each number

Ferguson	W[illiam] C. Rhinelander
T[homas] Hammersly	Ph: Rhinelander
Dr [William] Hammersly	John G Leake
Batten	John M D Lawrence
Roger Strong	Nathanl McVickar
John Broome	Archibd Bruce
Clement Moore	Thos M Harvey
W[illiam] P. Van Ness	Edmd Pendleton junr
Dr Mitchill	Wm Van Ness
B[enjamin] W Rogers	Walter Willis

NIAGARA FALLS, SEPTEMBER 8, 1815

By William Dunlap

(In the Theodore Salisbury Woolsey Collection)

DIARY OF WILLIAM DUNLAP

October 15, 1819—April 28, 1820

Norfolk, Virginia

(Manuscript volume lettered *Memoirs 24* owned by
The New York Historical Society)

New York Friday Oct[r] 15th 1819. Steam boat, on my way to seek business as a painter, first at Burlington N. J. then westward as circumstances direct. I have left $400 with my family, I have $150 in my pocket. Arrive at Trenton 10 OClock & next morning ride 3 Miles down the river to Steam Boat, Capt[n] Jenkins formerly of the Raritan. Land at Bristol & call on [Thomas Abthorpe] Cooper who is at New York making an engagement. Go over to Burlington and call on Bloomfield. No prospect of business. Ellis B has brought from Spain a collection of pictures, which as his uncle says cost him the price of a Farm, and I say are worth nothing. Dine with Mrs Cooper and go down to Philadelphia

Sunday [Oct.] 17th See Sully. he advises me to go to Norfolk & thence to Richmond for Miniature painting at the last place. Remove my baggage to Sully's.

[Oct.] 18th Take the Steam boat for Bristol to see Cooper for information respecting the south & for letters. Sully has not had a portrait to paint for Phil: since May last & but four for Strangers. he is painting Washington crossing the Delaware, for Exhibition—a fine Composition. In conjunction with [James] Earl[e] he has erected a Gallery & they Exhibit some good pictures but with out success as to profit. Leslie's Death of Rutland, bold, broad, fine. Horse & Snake. Landscapes by Shaw, good, colouring like Loutherburg. A small Landscape by Gainsborough beautiful & bold. [Charles B.] King is at Washington he will show me some machines for preserving Colours when ground. I called on Warren yesterday, who is always the same good natured, fat, friendly creature, he has 4 or five children by his last wife—politely invites

me to the Theatre & greenroom. They have played 12 nights to some profit. I understand that it is to Newcastle 40 miles, by land to h^d of Elk 18, by water to Baltimore.

Arrive at Bristol & find that Cooper had gone to Philadelphia. Walk to the Shamony & returning to Dinner, find Cooper landing from Steam Boat and return to his house with him—pass the day & follow^g night. He gives me letters to [blank] in Fayetteville, Newburn, Wilmington, Raleigh.

To ask S respecting Mr S's push I did so, and he said he began the business unknown to Trumbul, but soon told all & T appeared pleased to instruct him.

Oct^r 19th 1819. Bristol. C. tells me that Price is losing money every night the Theatre opens. C. is to play in N. Y. Boston & Phil^a & goes south 27th of Dec^r. Expects Keene [70] will come out. See 2 young Scotch Women, Misses [Wright] the eldest (24) the Author of Altdorf play'd at N. Y. last year, now to be play'd in Phil^a. C. to play Altorf. He reads the plays to me & I find much to praise.

Morse is the Oil painter of Charleston, Fraser the Miniature. Make preparations for Norfolk. See Mr Wests picture of Christ healing.[71] At my entrance I was disapointed, the effect was not as great as I had anticipated. The figure of Christ positively had no grace, no expression. The hand very fine. Composition improved as I look'd on, but the principal figure if Christ can be called the principal, remained bad. St. John had on [illegible] The priests too black, otherwise well expressed, perspective bad, [illegible] men pasteboard, principal groups fine beyond any praise, paralitic woman & attendants good, kneeling figure good. Maniac fine & his father Exquisite. Two females his sisters perhaps as fine as possible. Female

[70] Edmund Kean did not appear in New York until November, 1820.

[71] For a description and reproduction of Benjamin West's painting of "Christ healing the sick in the Temple", and an account of its presentation to, and exhibition by, the Pennsylvania Hospital, in Philadelphia, see pp. 305-321 of Morton and Woodbury's *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital* (Philadelphia, 1895).

head near the paralytic beautiful, in the extreme. Old & Young Woman on the left very fine. Infant perhaps good but not to my taste. Blind man & boy leading perfect nature & feeling. Blind girl & group fine. I am much dissapointed with all the distance as Candlstick &c.

Oct[r] 20th Write to my Wife. prepare to depart. Visit the [Pennsylvania] Academy [of Fine Arts] & am astonished by the strength & beauty of Alstons picture.[72] Rayberg's is good. Frasers miniature of Cooper, flatt & hard but good mechanical touch. See Trott who is about starting for Savanah & Charleston, he is starving in Phil[a]. Call at S. Levy's & see Mrs P. of Amboy. Get on board Steam boat for Newcastle before 12 OClock. The grandour of Alstons picture, the force, the nature, the colouring, the expression is fine, very fine; it is surely beyond Mr West's Christ Healing—it is highly finished in every part but the touch is woolly. The faces have a certain angularity, is it hardness? West's faces are better, except the Christ which is good for nothing.

Go by Steam boat to Newcastle, cross the land by Stage to French town & embark in another Steam boat about 9 OClock about 50 passengers.

21st Oct[r] 1819 between 4 & 5 in the morning arrive at Baltimore. I meet Mr Lawrence formerly of N. Y. whose miniature I once painted, he now resides in Augusta. A French physician De Norris, with 2 mulatoe Children, one a young woman, whom he says he had educated with all the accomplishments of a Lady in France, having sent her to his mother. He is going to settle in Fayetteville, but last night had nearly departed for another Country. As the steam boat past another vessel, her boom sweeping over deck the rope hanging below it, caught the Doctor under the chin & lifted him up in the air, he caught a railing of the St[m] B[t] which gave way, & he fell with it on the Deck, he escaped unhurt. We left Baltimore about 7 & at the Fort were received on board the steam b[t]

72 "Dead Man Revived by Elisha's Bones".

Virginia for Norfolk, a very large Vessel. We stop'd an hour at Anapolis, & I visited the Town State house & mounted the Balcony of the Cupola from which the view is fine & extensive, at 1 OClock we proceeded down Chesapeake Bay and at 7 in the morn[g]

Oct[r] 22d we arrived at Norfolk, 210 miles in 24 one hour of which we stop'd at Anapolis & half an hour at the Fort where the physician visited us in consequence of the late Yellow Fever at Baltimore. I walked to Gosport (the Navy Yard) to Thos. R. Swift's house (Capt[n] Swift & deliver'd a letter from Cooper, of introduction, to him at Portsmouth where I found him attending at the Court house as a Grand juror. My new acquaintance Doct[r] De Norris before parting this morning showed me a Jewish Shekle. I see H[ugh] Reinagle at Mr [John] Crawley's: Walk in the afternoon with E[lijah] Brown of Phil[a].

[Oct.] 23d Write to my Wife and to Gilfert. Speak to the keeper of the Hotel [Matthew Glenn] respecting my plans & show him & family my miniatures. He soon after came into my room with a Miniature set in gold which he said the owner had left with him for a debt 10 years ago & asked if I could make a portrait of some one of his family to suit the setting. "Yes" "How much" "Twenty dollars" Agreed & thus I have something to do. Commence on Monday. Walk. Call to see Crawly. Coming to Hotel find Fred[k] Lewis, who has been stationed here this three years at Old Point Comfort where the U. S. are now erecting great fortifications. I have heard the cost estimated at some millions. I find that Thos. R. Swift Esq. is Capt[n] of Marines, from Philadelphia, a bon vivant & generally liked. I find a volume of Rousseau's Confessions, in french, Promenades, & find amusement in them. I see little to indicate a change of climate except the tree called Pride of China growing in the streets as an ornamental shade-tree. The black faces, and dirty patched clothing of the Servants only indicate the state of slavery and manners attendant on it. The appearances of the

well dressed people, made & female is the same as at New York & Phil[a]. From Ph[a] to Norfolk is 338 miles & the journey is performed in 42 hours. I am now from home about 430 miles.

Sunday 24th Oct[r] 1819 Weather clear & mild. I went to the [Christ] Episcopal Church, a spacious Brick building, plain without & within, but neat & having a large & ornamented Organ. The Music was good. The Assembly genteel. The preacher Mr [Samuel] Low, eloquent above mediocrity. In another clergyman, reading the church service with a voice of musical thunder, and with a discretion, modulation, truth, dignity, & cadence far beyond any one I ever heard, I recognized my old acquaintance Morse,[73] whom I have known, a Lawyer, a player, a Captain in the Army, a lecturer, a schoolmaster, and who when last I saw him was in sickness & in poverty. He is now well dressed, full of flesh, health and strength & as handsome a figure as can well be imagined. After Church I joined him & he recognized me. He told me that he arrived here in June in the United States frigate, had been since to the Northward, was now in the Barracks at Gosport. He is a Chaplain to that frigate. Bishop Moore is at Richmond. Mr Low, the preacher is dying of consumption. He studied law, became a player & finally a priest. He is said to be the son of a clergyman, who resided near Fredericksburg. Sam[l] Low, who was one of the first clerks in the N. Y. bank, published a volume of bad poems, a bad play, became a drunkard, abandon'd his wife, came South and (as I hope) reformed & became a clergyman of the Church Episcopal. I will enquire if the father of this gentleman is or was poet Low. I was pleased to see several well dress'd negroes of both sexes at church, and to see that the general appearance of that race was on this day clean & indicative of enjoyment. I walked in the afternoon down the bay & round the

[73] Ebenezer B. Morse. *See* Abner Morse, *Memorial of the Morses* (Boston, 1850) 51, Appendix note LII. He died in Providence, R. I., August 14, 1824, aged 40 years. *Providence Gazette,* cited in Arnold's *Vital Record of Rhode Island,* XIV, 121.

Fort north of the Town. The Market here is wofully poor compared to the Cities of the north. The Butchers' meat looks poor, the venders of country produce pigs, poultry, butter, milk, vegetables, are Blacks, principally Women. Our Table is amply supplied, but the Butter is poor or worse, potatoes scarcely eatable, Sweet potatoes pretty good, Hominy (at Breakfast) Hams very good Fowls pretty good, Bacon & Cabbage is a common Dish & corn'd Beef & Turnips another, Fried Eggs & Sausages (at Breakfast) poor roast Beef at Dinner and Oysters in profusion at Breakfast, Dinner & supper or Tea. Oysters are carried through the street for sale opened & in the shell & I observed boats at the wharves loaded with them open'd & in large Firkins from which they are ladled & sold by the quart.

The Country round Norfolk is a flat sand level & the Woods are Ceder and pine. A little good soil and some gardens and corn fields appear here & there.

Monday Oct^{r} 25th 1819. Prepare to paint a Miniature, but to my great chagrin my Landlord tells me he cannot give me employment, for if one is painted all must be painted. Morse comes to see me & mentions a little loan of money I made him when I last saw him, with promise of repayment before I go. F. Lewis calls to see me. Morse says his situation in the Navy is secure, it is 55 dols p^{r} month. He only needs an arrangement with his former creditors in Massachusetts, to enable him to take orders & obtain a good living. They call him here Doctor Morse. Glenn my Landlord comes to tell me that he will have his two daughters painted in Oil, the Girls so preferring, and I am to do them at $25 each. This restores me again. Returning from a walk to the north over the same arid plain cover'd with pine which is seen in every direction except where water diversifies the prospect, I found the following polite note

Chas H Graham will be pleased to see Mr Dunlap at the Theatre, whenever that place offers any amusement for him.
Monday afnoon 25th Oct^{r} 1819

I wrote a note in answer and leaving it at the door of the Theatre went in & saw a Comedy new to me called "The sons of Erin. I was pleased with it, and found unexpected good acting in some men whose names I had never heard to remember. Mr Finn is natural, has good judgment, good voice, pretty good person, expressive countenance, an easy genteel manner without being graceful. Mr Brown played an Irish servant extremely well. Mr Dalton, a coxcomb in pretty good style. Mr Thomas was above mediocrity. The ladies were my old acquaintances Mrs Young, Mrs Clarke (formerly Miss Harding) Mrs Hayes (formerly Claude & once Miss Hogg) Mrs Wheatley. Mr Pritchard, whom I met yesterday, is to play Othello on Wednesday, first time of appear[g] here.

[Oct.] 26th [Daniel W.] Crocker who kept the Wash[ing]ton Hall is here Capt[n] of a Steam boat to Petersburg. I remember him Capt[n] of the Washington troop of Horse at N. Y. The state of society here is marked by the shops where articles of contrary kinds are exhibited together as in the villages of the north, by the want of a Circulating library of any kind or of a Book Store (a mistake there were two) I have been endeavouring to procure 2 Mahogany pannels to paint on & the Cabinet maker having no business & his journeyman no work can hardly be bro[t] to do this trifle. 1 OClock, I beg Norfolk's pardon I have found 2 Bookstores tho' small ones. I have said that nothing indicates the change of climate but the *pride of China tree,* which grows large & luxurious in most of the streets, but I should add that the verdure of these trees, the lombardy poplars & the few Oaks seen round the town, at this late season, shows a different habit from the poplars & oaks with us. Norfolk is an improving place. That part of the City which lies north west is handsome, the houses give an idea of wealth & their are several with gardens attached to them.

Wed[y] Oct[r] 27th I observe that since my arrival the Thermometer has been at 8 OClock in y[e] morning from

48 to 58, at 2 OClock Afternoon from 67 to 65 at 6 in the evening from 63 to 60. Commenced a portrait of Miss Glenn. Evening walk & after tea went to Theatre but was denied admittance in presence of two or three people going in, the Doorkeeper saying "Your name is not left to night." I remark'd "If I had not had a general invitation I should not have attempted to come in." He repeated, & added if you wait sir I will send to Mr Graham." He called a person to send. I refused "It is a matter of no consequence & walked off.

[Oct.] 28th Write to my Son in answer to one received yesterday. Therm: yester: 53, 65, 61. Began the portrait of Miss Matilda Glenn. Morse calls on me and reads two letters from his creditors in Massachusetts agreeing to his proposals, this opens views of prosperity to him; he says Bishop Moore is friendly to him & apprehends no impediment in the way of his ordination. Read in [Robert] Bloomfield's Farmers' boy. It appears to me very poor. Therm: to day 56, 69, 67. Norfolk is said to be a religious place. I stopt at a Baptist meeting this evening. A french man was preaching fluently in broken English to a crowded Auditory.

[Oct.] 29th At the reading room adjoining my quarters, to which I was introduced by Capt[n] Lewis, & where are News papers from all parts of the U. S. I was presented by Graham with a letter from Gilfert, discouraging my coming to Richmond. Graham apologized for the affair of my stoppage at the Th: door, says he positively told the doorkeeper to admit me always & requested my visits anew. Paint on both my portraits. Afternoon make a sketch of part of the Harbour, Fort Nelson & Fort Norfolk with Craney Island in the distance. Evening visit the Theatre & see Lear. [Nahum] Tates alteration of Shakespere appeared to me more than ever bald, disjointed, Lame. Pritchard not studied even the words of Lear, occasionally gave good passages. A petite piece called Married Yesterday, poor & of vile tendency. The

door keeper makes his clownish apologies & Mr Graham is again very civil. Thermo: 61: 76½: 75.

Oct^{r} 30th A tall swaggering young man who came yesterday from Petersburg, drinking Cocktails at the Bar and talking & swearing very loud, was accosted by the black barber with "Will you have your beard taken off, Sir?" "Hay! Yes! By God! I'll have any thing taken off; Damn me! by God I dont care if I have my head taken off!" The negroe grinning & at the same time looking down with a kind of mock humility replied "very happy to serve you, Sir." Capt^{n} [William] Wilson of the Artillery who says or rather swears, for he swears to all things, that he is not only the oldest captain in the U. S. service but in the world, Swears that the play they called Lear last night was no more like Shakespere's Lear than it was like the history of John Rogers & his ten Children. "Damn me, Sir, if I had gone in without seeing the Bills, I should as soon have thought of Tom Thumb as King Lear. Such scoundrels ought not to be encouraged! By God I'd rather give my dollar to the first beggar I meet in the street than to such a set of strollers! Why Sir! they cut out the Fool altogether, the fool is the most important part in the play. I'll be damn'd if I wouldn't for a dollar set fire to their damn'd barn of a house!"

Paint. Afternoon walk. Evening see "The curfew" perform'd & prisoner at large. It is singular that Mr [John] Tobin should have stumbled on the story of my "Feudal Baron" if he did not take it from my play which was published years before the Curfew was played.

A man dressed as a quaker and apparently 70 years old called to see me to day, and asked me if I did not remember a *frolic* we had had together 40 years ago in New York when I was going to England. I denied the 40 years (it is 35 tho') acknowledged the frolic, but did not recollect him He told me his name was Seaman. I then remember'd Tom Seaman, a youth with curling black hair, laughing eyes & a frame, countenance & manner full of elasticity and animation. I looked in vain after

we had sat down to talk over former times, in the shrivel'd skin, furrow'd cheek, sunken eyes, grey hair, & meagre limbs of this old man for my friend Tom. He thought we had not met since the period he mentioned, but I remember meeting him in travelling somewhere, perhaps 13 years ago, then not much changed. He has been married 30 years & (as E Brown tells me) his wife was a fine fashionable card playing Lady & is now a Methodist. He has resided at Edonton N. Carolina as a Merchant, then in Norfolk keeping the Exchange Coffee House, & now is a trader again. Ther: 66, 63, 61.

Sunday Oct[r] 31st. Write to my Wife. Go to Church. Walk to Gosport & Portsmouth with Brown return by the Ferry. All Blacks at the Ferry. B. tells me that the west branch of Elizabeth river (& we cross both branches on bridges going to Gosport) joins the Canal from the Great Dismal in N. C. About twenty miles from this on that rout is a Lake (Drummonds pond) about 6 miles by 4, the country around it healthy. This canal leads to Elizabeth City, it is to bring the produce of N. C. to Norfolk. Ther: 54. 55. 55.

Monday Nov[r] 1st 1819. Clear frosty morning. Walk & visit Steam Boat in which I arrived here. Paint. Evening with E Brown at Theatre. Road to Ruin. Fin very good. "Where shall I Dine." Dalton quite clever. The piece very faulty even as a trifle.

Nov[r] 2d Paint. My friend Morse introduces to me Mr Brimhall [74] Quartermaster who engages his portrait to be begun day after tomorrow. Walk in the afternoon. The insects still sing in the fields.

[Nov.] 3d In my mornings walk hear a bird singing cheerfully on a tree in one of the Gardens of the West

[74] Elisha Brimhall, 1st Lieut., Corps of Artillery. *Register of Officers . . in the Service of the United States on the 30th of September, 1819* (Washington City, 1820), p. 59.

part of the Town. Paint. Afternoon Lieu[t] Delany [75] engages his portrait to be begun the day after tomorrow.

Nov[r] 4th Write to Sully, to MacLean & to my Wife. Begin Lt. Brimhall's picture.

[Nov.] 5th E. Brown leaves us. Paint on Brimhall. Begin Lt. Delaney's picture. At dinner a Midshipman accosted me by name & introduced himself as Fairley [76] of New York. These two afternoons or even[gs] I have extended my walks at least two miles on the North road. Go to Theatre & see "Lady of the Lake" & part of "Love laughs at Locksmiths."

[Nov.] 6th Weather continues fine gradually becoming cooler. This morning the frost (hoar frost) lay on the fields like snow. After painting on Brimhalls picture he introduced me to Lieu[t] Fraser [77] from N. Y. son of old Donald and brother to Major [Donald] Fraser whose polite behaviour on our rencontre at Schlosser on the Niagara I remember always with pleasure. Evening. Theatre. Poor Gentleman & Falls of Clyde. The first very well played. Mrs Clarke's Miss Lucretia is very excellent & Fins young Bramble, the latter piece is very interesting. Donald by Fin, shows amazing versatility & great judgement.

Sunday Nov[r] 7th In my morning walk I found the streets swarming with negroes, laughing, talking, sporting, & some bringing in to town milk & vegetables to market. Not that the Market is not on other days but these people, principally women carry these articles on their heads about the streets for those who want & a few expose them near or on the Market square before break-

[75] Probably Henry Rozer Dulany, 1st Lieut. in the 4th Regt. of Infantry. *Ibid.*, 64; Heitman, *Historical Register of the U. S. Army,* (Washington, 1903), I, 387.

[76] Robert Y. Fairlie. *Register of Officers in the service of the United States on the 30th of September, 1819.* (Washington, 1820), p. 89.

[77] Upton S. Fraser, 1st Lieut., Corps of Artillery. *Ibid.,* 59.

fast. I have found out another walk over the Common which after passing by a bridge one of those inlets that make Norfolk almost an Island, leads among Gardens well cultivated & pleasant country houses, neat, not splendid, forming an interesting promenade.

At Church hear an excellent Discourse from Richard Moore Bishop of this Diocese, my old acquaintance of N. Y. Write to Gilfert respecting my letters & to post Master Richmond. Write to Major Vandeventer at Washington. Afternoon walk with Lt. Brimhall, and by passing through wood observe that the timber trees are not so much confined to Cedar & pine as I before thought, oak, gum, poplar &c are mingled with them. Stop at a public Garden, where five or six groupes of Idlers were pitching dollars, those winning who placed the dollar in or nearest a hole of its size.

Evening at Church and hear the Bishop again. I waited for him as he came down the aisle and after a warm greeting promised to call & see him tomorrow.

[Nov.] 8th Call at Mr Southgates (to whom I was last night introduced) and pass half an hour with Bishop Moore. He is visiting his Diocese, returns here in about a fortnight & then goes home to Richmond. I am to paint his picture gratuitously, he being pleased with the offer, to be given to some friend to the North. He has children in Philadelphia. He recommends my being in Richmond during the session of the Legislature, promisses me his assistance & thinks I shall have employment. Mrs Southgate talks of a picture. Paint on the two Misses Glenn. Evening meet Gilfert at the Theatre. He says he can promise me 2 or 3 portraits to paint in Richmond. I have engaged a room to paint in, at a house but a short distance from my Hotel.

[Nov.] 9th The weather is still dry mild & hazy. Last night Mr Fin performed Lord Ogilvy, with great cleverness, but made him too old, it was however well in keeping. Paint on Delaney's picture. Afternoon ride with

him four miles, to the termination of the northern road, at a paltry Tavern on a point of sand opposite Craney Island. Receive a letter from my Son in answer to mine of the 28th Oct[r]. Evening go to the Lancasterian School house & hear Lancaster himself in a lecture of two hours explain his system. He speaks interestingly as a man understanding his subject, but has the Cockney dialect as it respects h, v & w in all its imperfection. He has been in this Country 15 months, principally in Phil[a]. Landed in N. Y. His plan is in operation in every quarter of the globe.

[Nov.] 10th Write to Sully to employ Doughty to send me 8, 30 by 25 & 4, 36 by 30 prepared cloths on strainers, 10 oz Vermillion, 2 bladders of White, 10 oz light red, some lithrage & some gum mastic. Paint on Brimhall. Receive a visit from Capt[n] Swift, friendly, with apologies, invitations &c. Dine with *Doctor* Morse at the Marine Barracks, Gosport. They have snug quarters & the Mess, consisting of L[ts] Alcot,[78] Mackie,[79] Dulany[80] (of the Marines) & Morse, make a pleasant society. We had a good Dinner &c in handsome style. Swift joined us. I walked home to tea & then went to the Theatre.

[Nov.] 11th Morse, by invitation of the Bishop goes with him to visit the residue of his Diocese. This he thinks augurs well. Paint on Dulany. The weather has encreased in warmth this 3 days & is to day at summer heat.

[Nov.] 12th Finish Brimhal's picture & both the Misses Glenn, a hard long days work. Walk. Go to the Theatre. Robbers & Irishman in London. Both pieces

[78] Henry Olcott, 1st Lieut., U. S. Marine Corps. *Register of Officers . . in the Service of the U. S. on the 30th of September, 1819.* (Washington, 1820) p. 100.

[79] Aeneas M'Kay or Mackay, 1st Lieut., Corps of Artillery, *Ibid.*, 58.

[80] William W. Dulany, 1st Lieut., U. S. Marine Corps. *Ibid.*, 100. The designation of this Lieut. Dulany as belonging to the Marines, leads to the assumption that the Lieut. Dulany whose portrait Dunlap was painting was Lieut. Henry Rozer Dulany, of the 4th Infantry Regiment, as noted *supra.*

well performed. Mr Fin, tho' wanting figure or rather size, plays Charles de Moor well. Weather perfect summer. All windows open this two days.

[Nov.] 13th Norfolk is in Lat 36.55, 116 mile S of Richmond, 389 S by W. from Phil[a] 231 from Washington. So says [Joseph] Scot[t']s Geography. Write to my Wife. Paint on Delany. Receive a letter from my Wife of 8th inst. Take a long walk. Visit Crawley. Weather becomes colder but not yet frost. Mr Fin call'd on me to day & was introduced to me.

[Nov.] 14th Paint. Go to Gosport to call on Swift. A painter late from Europe but last from Richmond introduces himself to me.

[Nov.] 15th Paint on Delany. Walk. Theatre. See John H. Paine's Tragedy [*Brutus*] perform'd with much pleasure. The whole interest is in the part L. J. Brutus which was played with great force & judgement by Fin. Perhaps the passion of the Father should have been more repress'd. The afterpiece was Matrimony.

[Nov.] 16th Tuesday. Summer weather. Begin a portrait of Mr Glenn. Mr Fin who call'd on me, tells me that when a boy he wrote a letter to me proposing himself for the Stage & endeavouring to persuade me that he might prove a second Master Betty, and that he brought his letter himself, but I gave him no encouragement, but advised him to abandon all thoughts of the Theatre. He then went to the Grove Theatre & play'd Little Pickle. He has play'd in London & Edinburgh, says Keene is not a great player, except in Sir Giles Overreach. That he is a drunkard & fond of low Company. Write to my son & send on a note for $84 to renew one of 105 in part, due 7th Dec[r]

[Nov.] 17th Still warm. We have had among the boarders at our hotel, some officers of a privateer under

patriot commission of Spanish Am. who lodged at one end of the Gallery into which my apartment opens and at the other end the Agent of a slave ship from Baltimore, Mr Price fitted out for Guinea. The privateer has gone out of the Capes to wait for the Slave ship to make her a prize.

Write to my daughter. Paint on Delany and Glen. oppressively warm sitting at my Eazle. Strong S. Wind. Afternoon Gust from the N. W. and the first rain since I left home. Evening clear. Wind W. Mild. Read this two evenings in the 1st Kings with commentary.[81] Some of the comments are puerile some learned, some curious. But do not these commentators unsettle belief? When the unlearned reader sees that there are many versions differing in the reading, that many words, phrases, passages, are on all hands allowed to be mis-translated, that the most learned differ as to the meaning of words & phrases, what is the inevitable conclusion? A curious note is given respecting the mother of Asa, with various readings as to the nature of her guilt. Surely the note is at least injudicious. Is it not wonderful that repeatedly the word Sodomites is used as the translation of a word literally and only meaning *holy or consecrated persons,* e i consacrated to Idolatrous worship? Again it is said that the word translated raven in the story of the prophet Elijah, means Merchant, or inhabitants of a place called Orbim or Arabians!!! What latitude does this give to the reader, what uncertainty is suggested! Notion supported that Elijah or Elias, or Elihu, was an angel incarnate by his ascension to Heaven. The word translated prophet means likewise priest & perhaps poet, the word *Naba* prophecy means to pray, to supplicate.

[Nov.] 18th Mr More, the painter above mentioned as introducing himself to me, hearing that I was going towards Richmond, suggested my stopping at Surry Court house to paint the family of a Mr Price & a Doctor Graves, who wished him to do it, but he had no oil

[81] By Adam Clarke.

apparatus, he asked 50 dolls for a portrait. On talking to Mr Glen he knowing Price, I write to day to him, & offer to come thither on an engagement for at least 4 portraits at 30, 50, or 75 dolls according to size. Paint on Glen. We have in the house Mr Wrifford a teacher of writing, a New England man, a character, he affords me entertainment, by shrewd remarks & eccentric manners. He is a singer & has a noble voice. Evening read in Kings. How does Elisha's words "take my life for I am not better than my fathers" agree with the notion of his being an incarnate Angel? The book says 7000 had not bowed the knee to Baal, the Commentator says 7000 does not mean 7000 but a great many thousand, a majority of the nation, soon after the fighting men of Israel are number'd at 7000 & the commentator laments that Israel was so thinned, so reduced in number. "A Wall fell upon 27000 men & crush'd them" says the Com: "probably a burning wind is meant" We are told that what is translated ashes may mean *bandage* or *fillet*. Again *"Gan Yirek* may mean Garden of herbs or Grass plat. "Naboth did blaspheme God & the King" may be render'd "Naboth hath blessed God & the King" and the word *barac* may mean either bless or curse. How then is a sincere man to read this book? Again Ahab walked softly may be "barefooted" or groaning or with down hanging head. This curious Book must then it would appear be read with constant doubt as to the meaning of the original independent of all other doubts.

Friday [Nov.] 19th Colder. I have been in N. 4 weeks. Mrs Butler & her daughter Harriet & son Jon: arrive on their way to Elizabeth City N. C. Harriet is going to her father's for the Winter. I found from the meeting of Harriet & Matilda Glenn that they were acquainted & Harriet told me that she had staid at Mr Glens with her Child & received much kindness from the family. Mrs Butler told me that in travelling without a protector Glen had been very kind to her during the late War. I call'd on Mrs Southgate & took old Abraham one of Glenn's

black Waiters wth 3 finished portraits to show. They were admired. I was invited to call & see the Bishop on his return. The Lady's portrait was spoken of & that was all. Paint on Glenn. Call on Mr [Thomas] Williamson, Cashier of the [blank] Bank & requested to see a portrait by Stewart lately arrived here. He very politely showed me that & many other pictures. Stewarts is the portrait of [blank] Brookes a gallant young officer who distinguished himself last war & is bold almost to extravagance & very fine in effect—some dozen portraits by Thomson, a man who clear'd 3700 dolls in 5 months in this place some years back are vilely bad—a large picture by Crawley of three Children is horrid, the rest of Mr Williamsons collection is made up of indifferent Landscapes, and bad copies. He appears a frank liberal man. Paint on Dulany. Mr Williamson calls on me with Mr [blank] & engages a picture, promising to look out for a painting room for me. Capt^{n} Watson of the Navy calls on me & engages his portrait. Lt. Zanzenger [82] of the Navy calls on me & mentions some one who is coming to me. Receive a polite note from Fin with tickets for his night. Evening. Th: Merchant of Venice & High life &c. Fin came to my Quarters with me & we talked over Theatricals. He related his early biography. He is an interesting man thus far. Receive a kind letter from Sully. He has no business yet. Thinks he must travel soon. Trott is at Charlston S. C. & his prospects bad.

Sat^{y} 20th Nov^{r} Weather very pleas^{t}. Paint on Delany, Mr Glenn, and begin a picture of Graham the Manager. Even^{s} Th: Blue Beard.

[Nov.] 21st Mild & pleasant weather, almost summer warmth. Paint on Graham. Walk with Wrifford. Evening read in Kings. It appears that Ahab, Jehosophat & others the first among the Israelites & Jews consider'd the prophets as having power over good or evil, not merely

[82] John P. Zantzinger. *Register of Officers . . . in the service of the U. S. on the 30th of September, 1819.*

foreseeing but willing and bringing to pass. What must we at this time think of such a people. Teachers are appointed for them by Heaven, the word of God comes direct to them & enforced by miracles & prophecies, yet they act in opposition to warning, & entertain the notions above noted of God, prophets & prophecy. When the Bible says God did an evil thing, it is only to mean that he permitted it. Where is the difference. If I permit an ill knowing it to be so which I could prevent I am as guilty as if I did it. Ahab says "put thou on *thy* robes" The commentators say it is put on *my* robes. *Hazonoth rachatsu* may either mean "washed his armour, or the whores washed themselves &c. Besides these almost innumerable variations & contradiction in translating words & phrases, we are told that there are many evident mistakes in the MSS. owing to ig[no]rant or careless transcribers. Elisha & the *little children,* cursed & destroyed. We are told that the text may mean *young* man or servant or even *soldier:* and that probably these 42 young men, servants or soldiers had been killed bears whelps, and that the two she bears came out of the wood & destroyed them for having killed their cubs. Is not this too much?

Nov^{r} 22d Write to Dr Gillespie. I understand that Jarvis advertises at N. Y. to make likenesses of paper &c this looks like a push. Receive a letter from my Wife. All well last monday. Prepare to remove my painting room or rather to go to another room, to be still attended by Glen's servants. The privateer that went to watch the Guinea Man Slave dealer, has got aground near the Capes. Both vessels are nominally Spanish & both officer'd & man'd by Americans.

[Nov.] 23d Established myself in my new painting room. The Bishop & Morse have return'd from praying & feasting. Morse says it was all one continued New England Thanksgiving day. Began a picture of an old Lady Mrs Marsden for her Daughter Mrs Hopkins. Mr

Cox engages to sit tomorrow as does Mr Pennick. Paint on Delany. Lt. Shubrick talks of his Wifes picture. Many Visitors. Receive a letter from Alex[r] Robertson.

Nov[r] 24th Still mild & pleasant. I last night saw Mrs S. Wheatly formerly Williams, play Violante. She is a very fine Actress but has a spice of Mrs *Overdone*. Begin a letter to my Wife. Begin a portrait of Mr Coxe of the Navy & paint on others at my new apartment. Bishop More come to see me and gives me assurances of his services for Richmond.

[Nov.] 25th Finish letter to my Wife & Begin portrait of Capt[n] Watson of the Navy & paint on the others. Mr Dennison and Capt[n] [Ethan A.] Allen engage portraits. Mr Triplet of this place politely visited & invited me to his house. Warm as summer.

[Nov.] 26th Warm. Begin Mr Dennison's portrait and paint on Cox and Mrs Marsden. Watson suspends sittings until I am prepared to paint a larger size on Canvass. Evening write to Alex[r] Robertson, and request pictures, frames &c to be sent to me.

[Nov.] 27th Finish the above. Summer still. Paint on Dennison, Dulany & Graham. Receive a letter from my wife dated 21st & 22d. All well. Osborne likely to recover $50 from Pemberton of New Orleans. B W Rogers has another son & his wife ill. Evening read in Kings "talmidey nebiyaa" sons of the prophets or Disciples. A good note by Dr Clarke on the power of parents over children & creditors over Debtors. He admits the Jews to be barbarous when he speaks of the Romans & Greeks, although for the Hebrews it must be considered (I suppose) as the law of God. In speaking of the Shunamites Child Clarke says "the doctrine of reprobate Children had not disgraced the religion of the God of endless compassion & the Miracles of Elisha are very much like the Miracles of the New Testament. The same words mean

either "and it has been sought" or "it was borrowed." "Dove's dung" may be "peas" a little further on we are told that several words are *added* by careless copyists.

[Nov.] 28th Sunday. Practise on Miniature painting expecting to begin one tomorrow of a French Woman. Write to my son to send on Gilferts Picture & enclose order on J A Graham for 25 dolls. Rain. Read 2d of Kings. The Story of Jehu is beautifully told. This history reminds me of Bruce's Abyssynia. Dr. Clarke calls Jehu's conduct Brutal & him an "incomparably bad man" but the book makes God say "thou hast done that which is right in mine eyes" & "according to all that was in mine heart" & promises to reward him to the fourth generation. Reward or punishment in another state is never hinted at. It appears by the History of this brutal & barbarous people that the priests were the rulers and directors of revolutions in the name of the Lord & those Kings who rebelled against them were the men who made Israel to sin. It is plain that the Kings strove against the priests & to secure their own authority induced the brutish multitude to worship other Gods than the God of the Prophets & set up other priests in opposition to them, but the Old Stock of priests had the telling of the story & that must be a key to it.

Monday [Nov.] 29th Cold. Paint on Cox, Dennison, Glenn, & Mrs. Marsden. Walk. Read in Kings & St John. When Christ says "I and my Father are one" or "the Father" the Jews beleived doubtless that he made himself God, but in his answer does he not say as much as that he only meant to assert the sameness of intention when he alludes to the prophets or Judges being called Gods by the Law? Clarke endeavours to show that Christ meant to say that he was one with the Father, but it cannot be made out.

Nov^{r} 30th Tuesday. Mild. Began portrait of Capt^{n} Allen of the Artillery & paint on Mrs Marsden & Mr Dennison. Call on Crawley. Walk. Even^{g} read in Kings.

MRS. AARON OLMSTED (1757-1826)
(MARY LANGRELL BIGELOW)
(Courtesy of Miss Mary O. Marshall)

MRS. DE MOTTE OF LONG ISLAND
(Courtesy of The Rhode Island School of Design)

Wed^{y} Dec^{r} 1st. Mild. Paint on Dennison, Cox & begin a picture of Watson 36 by 30 for which I agree to take 60 dollars, stating my price as 75, as in N. Y. Wrifford attempts to give a lecture on teaching but no one comes to hear him but myself & two others. Capt^{n} Allen whose picture I begun is the son of Ethen Allen of famous memory, he is however a sot.

Thursday Dec^{r} 2d. Mild. Paint on Graham, Allen, Coxe, Watson & Dennison. Evening cold & threatens snow. Receive a letter from my Wife. All well at home. She says she has laid in her winter stores & will have 200 dolls to begin Dec^{r} with, this is independent of 20 sent & an order for 25 more. Read in Kings. Clarke says the simile of the Dish 21 Ch: 13 v: is likewise render'd, by wiping out that which is written on tablets. That word translated "Grove" means an Idol. Ch: 22d It appears by the text that the High Priest found "the book of law" & sent it to the King. And Shaphan the Scribe read it before the King & he rent his clothes &c. It appears that the law had been lost. The King for the first time heard it. (Could he read himself?) When he heard the judgement denounced against Israel & Judah for their Idolatries, he sent to a prophetess to know if all this was true! The history of these people makes them out the most ignorant stupid, foolish, vile race that can well be conceived of. Dr Clarke however interprets this finding the Book into finding some part of the law & says Josiah had this book with him from the beginning. Ch: 23. The King reads the new found Book to the people.

Tomorrow will be seven weeks since I left home & six since I arrived in Norfolk. I have enjoyed good health. I have had my mind wholesomely employed generally, and I believe more uniformly so than for a long time before I left home. I have drank no wine & no spirits in any shape except a very moderate portion with my dinner. I have been better in mind & body than when I took wine at my dinner. I think I have improved in my painting. I have more confidence in my power, more facility

a better style generally. I have begun Eleven portraits amounting to $315. I have finished of these Seven. My Expences in travelling, Board, materials for painting &c &c is $155 leaving a balance, if all is paid for as I think they will be, of $160. For all this and much much more, I thank my Creator & incomprehensibly great & good Benefactor.

Dec^{r} 3d Cold morning but clear & it moderates to mildness during the day. Paint on Allen, Coxe & Dennison. receive a letter from my Wife which has been a Month in Richmond. Morse is going to Williamsburg, he & Dennison sit with us the first of the Evening and promise me letters to the Naval people at Washington. Read in St. John. Resurrection of Lazarus. Martha Whatsoever thou asketh of God &c Here it is acknowledged by Clarke that Martha looked upon Christ as *man,* but he says Christ in his reply tells her he is the *Author of existence.* No such thing. "I am the resurrection & the life he that believeth in me though he were dead yet shall he live" Surely this is nothing more than an assurance that eternal life is the consequence of believing in him e.i. adopting his precepts & following his example. "He that believeth shall never die" that is perish eternally. And he asks "Believest thou this" She answers "I believe thou art the Christ the son of God, which should come into the world" e. i. thou art the prophet whose coming was foretold. He is satisfied with the answer, it was what he had taught this family. "Father I thank thee that thou hast heard me" &c &c if all this is not plainly teaching that tho' acting by direction of God & having immediate communion with him, yet that he pretended to nothing in himself, I cannot read. "Thou shalt see the glory of God" or the *miraculous power* of God. Yet after all this Dr Clarke says at the end of the Chapter "His (Christs) eternal power & Godhead are manifested in the resurrection of Lazarus." Surely he might have said the same of Elijah & Elisha, and made Gods of them.

Begin letter to my Wife.

Saturday Dec^{r} 4th Mild & pleasant: Finish & send letter to my Wife. Paint on Allen & Watson. Wrifford embarks in the Marktime Capt^{n} Post for Charleston, his passage 15 Dolls to be charged to me by Graham as part payment for his portrait. He otherwise could not have gone on. He is to remit the money to my Son in N. Y. Morse goes to Williamsburg. Evening read in the foolish egotistical Rousseau. Graham & Pennock sit with me a while, the first about departing for Charleston.

[Dec.] 5th Sunday. A morning like October. Capt^{n} Allen having been order'd to Baltimore I finish his picture to day & paint on Denison & Watson. Even^{g} read. Capt^{n} Duncan [84] was yesterday introduced to me by Brimhal & engages his portrait. Write to Bishop Moore to prepare my way in Richmond.

[Dec.] 6th Monday. Mild. Paint on Cox & Watson. Even^{g} Read in Rousseau & St John. Rousseau says his uncle Bernard plan'd the City of Charlestown, Carolina, and went thither to build it. Dr Clark quotes a remarkable passage from the Hindu & compares it to Christs saying "If any man serve me let him follow me &c him will my father honour" and compares it as similar, to *Chreesh*[*n*]*a's* saying beginning "If one whose ways were ever so evil &c" but the Hindu incarnate God calls on his follower to adore him—not so Christ. "Father glorify thy name" Some manuscripts read "Father glorify my name, others "glorify thy son. Any of these readings amount to a disavowal of equality with God. As to what is called the mystery of the death of Christ, it is not only incomprehensible to me at present but contradictory to all my notions of God. The miraculous interference of God is incomprehensible to me & his partial interference is contradictory to my ideas of his Justice or benevolence. That men should see such miracles as are spoken of and not believe the mission of the performer is con-

[84] William Robert Duncan, of the Corps of Artillery. Heitman, *Register of the U. S. Army.*

tradictory to reason, if they were convinced of the truth of the facts. To say that God "blinded their eyes & hardened their hearts" appears to me blasphemy against the all benevolent Creator. Does Christ any where say so? "Now is the Judgement of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out." The Devil & Death, are called severally the princes of this world. Does not the passage mean, "Now, through me, is the world justified: and by my triumph over death; his empire abolished?" And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me" if I go, as I shall, to Heaven, I will draw all men thither to me—this agrees with Clarke whose note on the passage is beautiful, both in the allusion to Joves golden Chain & the chain of Justice of the Hindu King. Christ's conclusion of his address at the end of Ch: 12th "For I have not spoken of myself &c is plain & is the key to what precedes. I am God's messenger, prophet, I speak not of myself. He refers all to God, he assumes nothing to himself.

Tomorrow will be two weeks since I came to my painting room in the Navy Hotel. In those two weeks I have begun Five portraits.

Dec^{r} 7th 1819. Tuesday. Warm, Gentle rain in the afternoon. Finish Graham's picture. Mr Reardon calls to see my pictures & immediately sits. This is my 12th port^{t} in Norfolk, the 6th in my present room. Even^{g} Read. Rousseau. St John. "Ye call me master & Lord. These titles were given by the Jews to their teachers, Doctors. A very remarkable quotation from the Institutes of Menu ending "Sacred knowledge and devotedness to God are the means by which a man can arrive at *beatitude*. This is the saying of a heathen.

To my astonishment Wrifford enters my rooms and says the schooner is still in the harbour, that they have been beating about in the most uncomfortable situation & he has determined to go to Richmond. Graham he says treated him very cavalierly & he has again got footing at Glenns.

Dec^{r} 8th Wed^{y} Paint on Reardon & Watson. Lyfford Keeper of the reading rooms says Graham told him that he had given Wrifford his passage. I told him the circumstances of my paying Wriffords passage to Graham agreeing to credit him 15 dolls on his acct. due to me for his portrait. Lyfford repeated the fact & the particulars— Graham representing Wrifford as an object of his charity. Evening, I have had a multitude of Visitors to day. Let me remember some of them. Capt^{n} Allen & his father in law Mr [John] Johnson. Mr Lyfford, he wants a portrait & a miniature but fears his power to pay. My Landlord Glenn and his brother who keeps a boarding house. T. Glenn has received some Boxes & trunks from N. Y. The boxes, as the vessel sailed last Saturday may contain my pictures. They have only a chalk mark directed M: Glenn. Mr. Zantzenger & Mr Allman. Mr Williamson Cashier of y^{e} Virginia bank & two Mr Taylor the old Gentleman lively & pleasant invites me to his house as does Williamson with assurances of endeavours to serve. Mr Thos. L. Graham who says he is purser's clerk at the Navy Yard and pays off all these fine fellows (looking round at Watson Cox &c) and wishing to his picture & to serve me engages a small portrait at 75 dolls. Several others whom I cannot designate. The weather being drizzly I see no Ladies. I settled today with Smith & Osborne for strainers & pannels. Straining frames 36 & 30 long & clothes cost me $2.25 ea; pannels (24.20) $1.45 ea: Read Rousseau & St John. 9 & 10th v. 14th Ch: is I presume the strong text of the Trinitarians "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" "I am in the father & the Father in me" and yet it is plain from the whole that Christ speaks figuratively as having shown them God by showing them the will of God, of being in the father & having the father in him as being in the counsels of God acting by his inspiration for he says immediately after "I speak not of myself" & again "the word which ye hear is not mine but the father's which sent me. "I am in the father, & ye in me, & I in you. "For the Father is greater than I." Besides all which he says "I

will pray the Father & he shall give you &c e i after he has returned to God who sent him he will pray to God, if he was God or wished to say so, would he not have said I will send"? Can we comprehend his praying to himself to do his own will? As far as I can yet see, the Unitarians are right.

Thursday Dec^{r} 9th Warm & springlike. Paint on Reardon and Watson. Several visitors, some Ladies. Lyfford agrees with me for a portrait & Miniature, to be paid for in Hams & other produce. Mr Maxwell [85] a second. time call'd on me & introduced the Rev^{d} [blank] & Mr [blank] Maxwell is a Lawyer of eminence here & he & his friend the Clergyman are both pupils of Dr Dwight. Mr Williamson who appears very friendly says old Mr Taylor will sit to me. I see a good deal of character in my sitters & visitors. Evening high cold wind. Read in St John. Christ says *all things* that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you." He arrogates nothing to himself & all is from God. He is alone Gods messenger & so pure & full of love to mankind that he lays down his life for them. Why this was necessary I can not understand. Was it that by submitting to crucifixion in testimony of the truth of his precepts he would cause a more general belief & confidence in himself & his doctrine? That such might be the determination of a just man I can conceive & that a man would thereby become more deserving of the love of God & man. But as a scheme of redemption planned by *God* I cannot understand it.

Friday Dec^{r} 10th A Winters day cold & clear. Paint on Reardon & Watson & begin a portrait of Mr Lyfford. I have been in Norfolk, today, 7 Weeks, I have begun 13 portraits, finished 9. Evening Milder. Begin letter to my Wife. Wrifford departed this morning for Richmond. I dont know what to make of him. He has been very at-

[85] William Maxwell (1784-1857). See Dexter, *Yale Biographies, 1792-1805,* 5th ser., 520-22.

tentive to me, almost troublesome notwithstanding that any attentions are flatterring, but I began to think he had selfish motives for his attachment.

Saturday Dec^{r} 11th Finish & send off letter to my Wife. Read presidents Message. Mr Osbourne frame maker calls to negociate for a portrait for a friend to be paid for in Frames, pannels &c. Paint on Reardon Watson & Lyfford. Receive letter from my Wife. On Sunday Nov^{r} 28th Snow in N. Y. in y^{e} Night which lay 2 days, here it rain'd gently & was mild & y^{e} next day was cold & on tuesday mild. In N. Y. it was a winters day on Sunday y^{e} 5th inst. here it was mild as October. My wife has got in her Winters wood & has 200$ in store. My son is doing successful & profitable business in partnership with [James A.] Hamilton. My daughter is well & happy. For these and the infinitely great blessings bestow'd on me & my fellow creatures, may the all benevolent God be thanked. Evening set down to read in St John. As far as I have yet seen, Christ teaches Unitarianism, in this Ch: 16th he speaks of what is called the 3d person in the Trinity, "the Comforter, or Spirit of Truth. Christ says "this spirit" "shall not speak of himself." Is not this an acknowledgement or assertion of this person being an inferior Agent of the Deity, this appears plain as it respects the third person in the Trinity, but here follows a passage respecting Christ himself which Clarke thinks decides as to his equality or identity with God. "All things that the Father hath are mine." But as such an assertion would contradict so many other plainer assertions, we must read this passage with latitude, it can only mean that the things of the Father are given to him and that *spirit of truth* which had emanated from the Father through Christ would after his ascension or death, be bestow'd immediately upon the Disciples, they then standing in the place of Christ between God & the world. In the remainder of the Chap: he speaks plainly of himself as one sent by God & returning to God. Mr Lyfford call'd & sat with [me] till 9 OClock.

Dec^{r}. 12th Sunday. A very fine winter morning. Walk. Paint on Watson. Afternoon. Walk. Evening read St. John.

[Dec.] 13th Springlike morning. Paint on Cox, Reardon & begin a portrait of Mr Corrigen. Afternoon Cloudy. Send two hams to my family. Write to my Wife. Evening read St. John & Ferdenand Count Fathom.

[Dec.] 14th Some rain last night. Warm cloudy morning. Send letter &c by Schooner Jane Maria Capt^{n} De Groot. Clears up mild. Receive 2 packages, a bundle of papers & letters & 2 Jugs of oil by the Tell-Tale from N. Y. Letters from my wife, daughter, Alex. Robertson, Jos: Osborn, S. M. Hopkins, Maj^{r} Vandeventer & D. Gillespie.

[Dec.] 15th Springlike morning. Painted as usual yesterday & to day on Corigen, Lyfford & Reardon. Preparing to remove to the East part of this old building. The beautiful Mrs Denison calls on me & the handsome Misses Brown, with some other pretty girls. Evening read N. Y. papers.

[Dec.] 16th Beautiful weather. I learn by my letters from N. Y. that Price has large executions out against him & has gone to England. Paint on Corrigen & Watson. Many Visitors, Mr Hyndes & his daughters, the youngest very handsome. Other Ladies, Mr Strong, Mr Hill Lottery Office Keeper agrees for his portrait to be paid in Tickets e.i. 3 Tickets, he to share in any prize of 500$ or upwards, one half. Open my packing cases. find Cupid, Susanna, Lady in blue & red, Lady & Looking Glass, Two Children grouped, Gilferts portrait, Frames, Cloths, Brushes, & some linen, and Gallery of British portraits. Receive letter from my son. Even^{g} read N. Y. papers & study portraits. I have great pleasure from reading a No. of The American. The affairs of Germany have arrived at an interesting Crisis.

Dec[r] 17th Friday. Cold & cloudy. This makes the 8th week I have been in Norfolk. Paint on Corrigen, begin Lyfford's Miniature, paint on Watson. Many visitors. Hang up my N. Y. pictures. Crawley brings [Joshua] Shaw the Miniature painter to see me, he is just from Baltimore, travelling to procure subscriptions to American views, engraved by [John] Hill, painted by Shaw with letter press descriptions which he says is to descriptive a *Sentimental* Journey & very funny. He is an ignorant, conceited English blockhead. Talks of being once consumptive & the Doctor told him he must change his *hair*. Evening. A fire in my neighbourhood & all the Town to looking at it. When discover'd it was a small affair in the roof, by the time an Engine came the roof was in flames, 2 other engines came & the house was burned to the ground.

Dec[r] 18th Sat[y] Removed to more convenient rooms under the same roof. Paint on Lyfford & Watson. Mr Brunette engages his portrait to be begun at 2 OClock Monday. Weather mild. Afternoon rain. Even[g] Write. Receive letter from Doughty with bill of lading & acct. of things sent from Phil[a] 12 Cloths $17 & colours, making in all 19.58. Begin letter to my wife. Read in The American. N. Y. Census near 120,000 in y[e] City, encrease in 3 years 19,700, decreas of slaves 300.

Dec[r] 19th Sunday. Paint on Lyffords Miniature & Watsons portrait. Weather pleasant. Walk. Even[g] Finish letter to my Wife. Read in American.

[Dec.] 20th Send off my letter by [Edward] Wyer whom I found in Boston in 1813 (Cooke's Yankee Gentleman whom Sam was order[ed] to show down stairs with candle lighted at both ends) he has since been Consul at Gottengberg or Hamburg. Paint on Corrygen, Lyfford & began Mr Low & Mr Hill. Williamson came with Low and went home to send me an Eagle left here by Thompson. he then came again & staid the sitting. I have head ach and tooth ach. Walk. Evening read.

Dec^{r} 21st Finish Denison & Reardon. A beautiful morning and my good feelings restored. Judge Parker introduced by Mr Allman, talks of 2 pictures. Paint on Mr Low. Receive a letter from Morse, who is teaching elocution at Williamsburg. No encouragement for me to come thither. Evening 7 or 8 Creek Warriors & Gen^{l} [William] McIntosh sup with us, on their way to Washington. Go to an Amateur Concert at Crawley's, & wish the Indians were present, to see the movements of the fiddlers, especially the leader.

Wed^{y} 22d Dec^{r} Fine morning. Walk. Paint on Lyfford & Cox. McIntosh & his Indians to see me. They expressed surprize & pleasure. Invited to Dine at Capt^{n} Swifts on Christmas day. Receive letter from my wife enclosing order from J Osborne N Orleans for 50 Dolls on Minturn & Franklin, being debt recovered by threatening Pemberton: all well at home on the 16th. Many Visitors this Afternoon. The order sent on by my friend Osborne is Jos: Byrnes on Franklin & Minturn in my favour.

Thursday Dec^{r} 23d Write to my Wife & send back Osbornes Order endorsed. Paint on Hill. Finish Corrigen, Paint on Lyffords Miniature. Commodore [John] Cassin calls to see me introduced by Mr Henry. The Misses Whitehead call w^{h} Mr Zantzenger. One of these Ladies a Deaf & Dumb. The youngest very pretty. Mr Triplett call'd & introduced Mr Smith lately appointed paymaster to this district in place of Major [blank] who was killed since I came here by the overturning of a Stage in going to Washington. Mr T. gave a positive invitation to call on him this afternoon. I did so & found him & Smith with T's mother every thing very genteel, nay elegant. I took wine & after Tea. Mrs T the younger joined us, rather handsome. Evening call'd at Williamsons found Shaw & Crawley with him. He had taken Shaw to his country seat & S had made some sketches.

Friday Dec^{r} 24th The Country folks flock in with provisions for keeping Christmas & the Market Square &

Main Street resemble a Fair. I have been here 9 Weeks. The warmth of the weather is against laying up stores, or Norfolk might be provided with Turkeys for the rest of the Winter. Yesterday was a clear Spring day, last night it rain'd & it is wet & warm this morning. Paint on Mr Hill. Write to my friend Osborne & to Mr [Asher B.] Durand Engraver of N. Y. Mr Williamson calls to invite me to dine with him tomorrow. Mr Maxwell introduces Mr [blank] Southgate. There were in Market to day, Lyford says, 311 Carts. The produce is here bro^{t} in one horse Carts. I receive a letter from Rich^{d} Channing Moore Bishop of Va: He says his son will look for a room for me & my success will depend on the pictures I can show as my work. People are poor &c. The letter is very friendly. Evening read in American.

Dec^{r} 25th The order of the morning is Egg:nog, not for me. Walk. During last night violent rain & wind from y^{e} North. Fine morning. Mr Williamson introduces General [Robert B.] Taylor to me. Dine at Gosport with Swift. Some Sea Captain & Officers of the Navy, some Ladies & the beautiful fading Mrs Denison. I walk to Gosport & back: take tea at my Hotel, go to my painting room, make up my fire, light my spermaceti candles & read. Swift is a genteel man, whose early life has been wasted in dissipation & he is of course ignorant, his father in law Coxe an intelligent old Sea captain, his brother in law Coxe, a good natured sailor. Mrs Swift a handsome clever woman, & an old maid sister a fat notable lady. These with two spoiled children form my friend Swifts family.

Sunday Dec^{r} 26th a very fine frosty morning & mild day. Begin a picture as a design for Mrs Denisons port^{t} Paint on Low & Coxe. Walk. Ev^{g} Read. Samuel.

Monday [Dec.] 27th Mild. Cloudy. I walk every morning before breakfast after attending to my fire at my painting room. Write to Doughty & send him 19.58 dollars for Cloths & Colours. Paint on Hill, Low & Lyford. Walk. Evening at Mr Maxwells.

Tuesday [Dec.] 28th Mild frosty morning. Paint on Lyford & Low. Maxwell calls & engages a small picture of his mother, Mrs Reed sister to Mrs Marsden. Walk as usual. Evening read.

Wed^{y} [Dec.] 29th Clear cold winter's day but I think the even^{g} promises milder weather tomorrow. Paint on Hill, begin Mrs Reed, paint on Low. Mrs Reed was accompanied by her daughter Mrs Holmes, a fine lively widow.

Thursday 30th Dec^{r} Last night a little snow fell which melted in the morning & it rains steadily. In the evening it clears up windy & cold. Receive a letter from my wife. All well y^{e} 25th. On the twenty-fourth it rained & snowed & Christmas day was clear with the ground cover'd slightly with snow in N. Y. Paint on Lows portrait. Even^{g} read Count Fathom.[86]

Friday 31st Dec^{r} 1819. A Cold winter's day but clear. Crocker, capt^{n} of the Steam Boat Petersburg says there was a violent snow storm on the Bay. Paint on Low & Watson. Afternoon visited by Mr Wright Southgate who expressed his admiration of Low's portrait & almost engaged a portrait of Mrs Southgate who I am told is a beautiful Woman. Even^{g} finish Count Fathom & write to my Wife.

Saturday Jan^{y} 1st 1820. Finish & send off letter to my Wife. The morning is clear & cold. The creeks & inlets frozen, & fresh water hard & thick. Boys & young men Skating. Paint on Low. Afternoon Walk. Ev^{g} at Williamson's. Neilson there.

Sunday [Jan.] 2d Walk. Call on Neilson by appointment. Am engaged to copy a portrait of Miss Neilson by Sully.[87] Go to Church with Williamson. It is clear & cold

[86] Smollett's novel, *The Adventures of Ferdinand, Count Fathom* (1753).

[87] Thomas Sully painted a portrait of Miss Neilson in May, 1814, and after her death, made two copies from it, in May 1818. Biddle and Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully*.

but some degrees warmer than yesterday. Mr Low preaches.

I saw yesterday a scene which reminded me of a Slave Market. Those slaves who had not been hired out by the year in private, stood in the publick street to be hired, while whites bargained for them. This morning I saw a black driving or leading a small Cart drawn by a miserable mule with a coffin composed of thin white boards nailed together, to bury, as I presume a poor slave in the potters field, which is about a mile from the populous part of y^e^ Town & near Fort Barber. This afternoon walking over the common towards potters field, I saw a procession come from a large house near the Common. A hearse cover'd with a canopy of black drawn by one horse, preceeded by six black men well dressed, one of whom had a book in his hand, & followed by 25 or 30 black men & women. I attended their movements & proceed to the burying ground. The six who preceeded the hearse sung as they walk, a Hymn the lines of which were read line by line, in a loud sonorous voice, by the booksman: All was solemn. As I approached the ground I perceived another crowd & another hearse similarly adorned was just moving from it. I drew near & heard a preacher from the midst of this second congregation, likewise all black, vociferating in the manner of the Methodists in a monotonous tone at the top of a harsh discordant voice with great rapidity and no pauses but those required to catch breath. I listen'd in serious mood and heard what but for the occasion & the sobs & wailings of the females of the assembly would have been very ludicrous. "Wo! Wo Wo! Husband who have wives look here. Moders look here, broders & sisters look here. Your own times must come. To go to Heaven or to Hell, to the blessed Lamb or to eternal fires. it was only a few days ago, when I was going by this Lady's house, she was standing at the door. How do you do madam says I. How do you do uncle Bob says she. (The orator was an old grey woolled Negro whose face was distorted by his incessant bawling, for such it was & all in one note) O

Uncle Bob I am just going. Dont be afraid madam says I dont give over. O but I am give over. I have but just a little breat left. What can I do for you madam. Nobody cant do nothing for me, all I ax of you Uncle Bob is to preach my funeral Sarmon. &c &c &c. By this time the first procession had come up & they surrounded the Grave in silence. I walked away & passed up the road about half a mile on my return found the Baptists, for such the singers were, in full chorus. It was now almost dark & I passed down Church Street on my return home. I soon over took three blacks vociferously merry & perceived that the loudest was Uncle Bob who had a scanty scarf over his shoulders about the size of a large towel & another round his hat. I slacken'd my pace to learn the subject of their mirth & found it was Death and immortality. Uncle Bob with loud laughter assured his two companions that he was certain of immortal happiness in Heaven, and the three wth with peals of laughter continued to treat this subject in a way contrasting strongly with the earnestness of the preacher at the grave. Evening at Mr Maxwells.

Monday Jan^{y} 3d 1820. I moved my painting establishment to a house nearly opposite. Afternoon Walk. Evening read in Acts.

[Jan.] 4th The weather is uniformly cold & clear. Walk. Begin a portrait of Lieut. Kennon.[88] paint on Mrs Reed.

[Jan.] 5th Same weather. Walk. Paint on Lt. Kennon. One of the Zantzengers engages a portrait. Mr [blank] says he must have portrait for his daughter. Begin copy of Miss Neilsons portrait by Sully for Mr Neilson.

[Jan.] 6th Same weather. Paint on Kennon. Evening read in Acts.

[88] Beverly Kennon, commissioned Lieutenant, U. S. N., July 24, 1813, and stationed at Norfolk, Va., in 1819. *Register of Officers . . . in the service of the U. S. on the 30th of Sept., 1819.*

[Jan.] 7th Clear & mild. Receive a letter from my Wife 31st Dec^{r} Cold & deep Snow. Williamson invites me to his Country house. Says he will build a painting room & a Dwelling house for me rent 250 dollars on Fenchurch Street. Paint on Kennon. Evening write to my Wife, on the subject of breaking up in N. Y.

[Jan.] 8th Mild. Finish letter & send it off. Finish Kennon's picture. Rain. The lower part of the house I now paint in, is occupied by a Black Barber & an Irish Dancing Master. Hearing this Ev^{g} something that ressembled preaching below stairs, I went to the head of the stair & found that O'Sullivan was under the influence of the Spirit converting or confirming Tom Knight, to or in the holy Roman Catholic faith. Of course as in the case of Uncle Bob I only heard part of the Sermon. "They pretend that we worship Idols, pictures & Images, but its no such thing, we only look on the picture of our blessed Saviour, for example, and it puts us in mind of his sufferings for our sakes, that's all Tom." "Yes to be sure Sir" "And if we pray to him then is that praying to the picture?" "No to be sure Sir" "Why I could take a bit of a piece chalk & make a cross on the Wall & draw a man on it, & because it put me in mind of what I owe to my Redeemer, and I kneel'd down & said my prayers would it be to the Wall and the chalk?" "No to be sure" "We only hold to the customs taught and handed down from the Apostles to the popes in a straight line through the holy Catholic Church" "Yes Sir & dey all say we believe in the Holy Cholic Church." "Right Tom, & they would never seperated from the Catholic Religion but for two German Priests Luther and Calvin who set up a new religion because the Bishops would not trust them with the Church's money, & they were patronized by a petty German prince who was no better than a Deist." "Yes Sir" "And Henry the 8th of England, who was a Roman Catholic, wrote against Luther & Calvin and shew'd that they were Heretics & the pope in consequence gave him the title of Defender of the Faith which the

Kings of England bear to this day" "Yes Sir" "But he for the sake of woman quarel'd with the Holy See." "Yes Sir. Jack see that water dat boil over." "Then Tom there is Transubstantiation" "Yes Sir" "We believe that the bread & the wine is the real body and blood of Christ, but they say how can it be, dont we see it is bread & wine & not flesh & blood, but you know, Tom, when our Saviour turn'd water into wine, it was a miracle, & he commission'd his apostles to perform miracles & he gave the same power to their followers & this is a miracle." "Yes Sir" "And then for Extreme Unction—"Halloo Tom! will you shave me?" "Yes I suppose I must" Tom Knight went into his shop & O'Sullivan into his. I went to my Tea. On my return the preacher was fiddling and another set of hearers were & are still profitting by his labours.

Sunday 9th Jan^{y} 1820. After a rainy night a clear mild day. Work on Kennon & finish higher. Williamson calls & invites me to dine. Pays me 40 dolls on acct. of Low, leaving balance due to me 25 for picture & frame. Kennon pays me 50, due to me for frame 17. Williamson shows me a letter from Shaw, containing specimen of his intended Sentimental journey in prose & verse & concluding with a wish to borrow 50 or 100 dollars. Presumption and ignorance marked on it as on his conversation: paid Mr Glenn up Jan^{y} 7th 1820. Dine & take tea at Williamsons. Ev^{g} call at Maxwell's.

Monday [Jan.] 10th Hard rain. Finish Hills picture. Ev^{g} read in Acts.

[Jan.] 11th Cloudy & somewhat colder. Paint on Mr Low, & Mrs Reed. Night colder.

[Jan.] 12th Frosty morning. Paint on Mr Low, Mr Hill, Finish Mrs Reed, paint on Miss Neilson. Ev^{g} quite cold. Rec: a letter from A. B. Durand Engraver Declining to share in publishing D. D. Bishop Moore's picture,

agrees to Engrave it, size of Bishop White for $500, half y^e^ sum paid at commencing. The size is 15 by 17 Inches, price to be aśked 5 or 6 dollars. Cost of printing & paper 15 the hundred. Thus 500 would cost me 575 dollars & 125 dollars to deliver & collect e i 700—a subscription of 500 @ 6 is 3000, of 400 is 2400, of 300 is 1800, of 200 is 1200. Go into Williamson's & play back Gammon.

[Jan.] 13th A very cold morning but clear. Walk. Paint on Lyford & Cox and began a Mr Reardon brother to the one I had painted. A Mrs Roberts & Miss Taylor her niece call on me & talk of picture of the latter. After noon Crawley's calls. Williamson had mention'd that I thought of coming here to live & C is uneasy: Williamson, Neilson & somebody else come in. Take tea with Mrs Williamson. Even^g^ write to Robertson.

Jan^y^ 14th Mild. Cloudy. Rain mixed with Snow & Sleet. Paint on Reardon, Cox and Mrs Reed. Williamson calls & engages a groupe of three Children. Even^g^ Write.

[Jan.] 15th After a rainy Night a wet morning & cloudy. Paint on Reardon. T A Cooper calls on me, on his way to Charleston. Afternoon go w^h^ C. to Gosport to see Swift.

[Jan.] 16th Sunday. Beautiful springlike morning. Rainy &c in Afternoon & Evening. Begin a portrait of Cooper. Williamson invites me to Dinner. Go. in the Ev^g^ he suggests his own plans of grouping the Children's picture, and finally tells me he cant afford to give more than 70 or 80 dollars for the picture & concludes by saying that if I have other business I may defer beginning it until my return. I told him I should not go further with the business, changed the conversation, & so ends Mr Williamson & his patronage.

Monday morning Jan^y^ 17th After a night of rain & wind a clear morning positively warm, in ab^t^ ½ an hour

wind changed to W. blew a tempest at first with violent rain, then clear & cold comparatively, not frosty, & so continues thro' the day. Paint on Cooper & Reardon. Cooper & Williamson with me in the afternoon. Gilfert, Nelson, Green &c arrive on their way to Charlestown S C. Call to see them & Cooper at Davis's. Even^{g} read.

Tuesday [Jan.] 18th Fine clear frosty weather. Paint on Kennon, Cooper & Reardon. The Actors &c depart. Even^{g} Walk & read. On Saturday y^{e} 15th I received a bundle by water contain^{g} Stockings, Newspapers, a letter from Sam^{l} M. Hopkins on the Indian character & a letter from my Wife. I rec^{d} yesterday a letter from my Wife by Mail.

Wed^{y} [Jan.] 19th Fine morning. Receive a letter from my Wife. See by reading room book the 400 houses in Savannah are burnt. Paint on Cox, Hill & Reardon. Mr Cocke engages his picture. Mr Neverson a young Lawyer is introduced to me by Williamson & lends me "Fanny" a poem [89] by Drake of N. Y. (Croaker) & I read it with great pleasure. Even^{g} read American & Humphry Clinker.

Thursday 20th Jan^{y} 1820. A Mild & Spring like day. Paint on Reardon & Watson & begin Mr Cocke. Lt Bell of the Navy engages his portrait. Afternoon Mr Neilson engages his portrait. Even^{g} at Williamson & afterw^{ds} write to my Wife.

Friday [Jan.] 21st A most spring like day. Write to my Wife & sent a draft on Mechanics Bank for 150 dolls payable to my son. I have been in Norfolk 13 Weeks, from home 14. I am preparing to go to Lyn Haven bay wth Williamson.

Sunday 23d Jan^{y} 1820 at 12 OClock arrived at Norfolk in a violent Snow Storm. Our ride on friday was pleasant

[89] *Fanny* was written, not by Joseph Rodman Drake, but by the other author of the "Croaker" poems, Fitz-Greene Halleck. It was published anonymously in 1819, but Halleck's name appeared on the title page of the second edition, in 1821.

over this level country thro' woods, principally evergreens. Trees of pine & underwood of Myrtle, with occasional plantations until we arrived at Ferry-ville, Williamson's house & plantation, situated on an Inlet called a river & looking like a beautiful small lake. After dining with Mr & Mrs Low, we went shooting, the parson with us, but having no dog found no game but one snipe which I shot. A supper of very fine fat large Lynhaven Oysters with coffee & draughts closed the day. On Saturday every preparation for duck shooting having been made we proceeded notwithstanding light showers of rain, in a Boat with four oars down the river to the great Bay of Chesapeake. On tuesday last an East Indiaman had been wrecked on Cape Henry and as we approached the bay we found the black pepper floating past us on the water. We landed on a point and saw the line of black formed by the pepper corns on the beach as far as the eye could see & the inhabitants collecting it & conveying it off in carts or canoes. Our oarsmen began to collect pepper & Low & myself went to shoot ducks, only one having been killed on the way. We return'd to the beach unsuccessful & found that Williamson had gone down to the Cape by the beach & we followed, making a walk of 6 miles, to Cape Henry Lighthouse, all this distance was strewed with pepper & as we approached the fragments of the wreck were seen strewed on the sand. Labourers were collecting the pepper & conveying it to the Lighthouse for the owners: A number of small birds in flocks were eating the pepper. Wild Geese in great numbers were both in the bay & the Inlet, but they were not to be approached. A Hard rain drove us, wet, for shelter into the House by the Lighthouse, where we found W. Directly opposite the Light was the hull of the Ship. The rain ceasing we walked our Six miles back, having seen Cape Henry, the Sea, a wreck & the beach strewed with the spice of India. Some Coffee was among the pepper, but that article was yet principally in the wreck. We embarked again near sun set & arrived cold & hungry to enjoy the hospitalities & luxuries of the Mansion at

Ferryville. I have seen a person who was on board the wreck since our return, he says they were dismasted on Monday by the squall I have mentioned. Went on shore altho' they saw the light, not judging of the distance owing to haze. I first saw in my ride the long waving Moss streaming from the branches of the trees or forming festoons. Evening Write & read, the storm of snow continues.

Monday [Jan.] 24th Cold & clear & all is covered wth snow. Finish my letter to Robertson. Paint on Hill, Reardon & Watson. Even^{g} read Humphrey Klinker.[90]

Tuesday 25th Jan^{y} 1820. Clear and mild. Paint on Watson, Cocke & Miss Neilson. Doctor Kennon engages a portrait. Mr Cocke says he will have a portrait of his sister. Even^{g} read Humphry Clinker.

Wed^{y} [Jan. 26] Cold with thin clouds snow like. Paint on Cocke & Miss Neilson. Evening Hail. At Williamsons.

Thursday [Jan.] 27th Mild & Clear. Paint as yesterday. Evening at Maxwells.

Friday [Jan.] 28 Paint on Cocke, Mrs Read & Lyfords Min: Mild. Even^{g} rain. Send Grahams picture to Cooper at Charleston. Write to Cooper & send him a draft on Graham.

Saturday [Jan.] 29th After hard warm rain all night, a misty morning. Mist all day. Receive a letter & bundle from my Wife date Jan^{y} 15th at that time moderate weather in N. Y. with a great deal of Snow on the ground. Paint on Hill, Reardon & Watson. Maxwell & Southgate call, the latter now talks of his own portrait. Williamson and McCormick the Commissioner of Wrecks who we saw at Cape Henry call on me. Evening at Williamsons & reading Americans rec^{d} to day.

[90] *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker,* a novel by Tobias George Smollett, 1771.

PORTRAITS OF TWO GENTLEMEN

By William Dunlap

(Courtesy of Albert Rosenthal, Esq., of Philadelphia)

Sunday 30th Jan^{y} Rain in the night & this morning steady. No colder. Paint on Miniatures. Read. Even^{g} write to Cooper & send order on Graham for $31. Write to my Wife. Read. Still rainy.

Monday [Jan.] 31st Clear & mild. Receive a letter from my Wife date 21st. Paint on Miss Neilson, Mr Cocke, & Mr Hill. Even^{g} read Acts. It grows colder.

Tuesday Feb^{y} 1st. Very cold. Paint on Miss Neilson. Afternoon Walk 6 or 8 miles. Returning find a large party of gentlemen seeking me. Mr [blank] who had been introduced to me by the Bishop introduces Mr [blank] who is the intended successor of Low, & others, and engages his own picture to be begun the beginning of next week. Even^{g} read in Acts.

[Feb.] 2d Milder & pleasant. Paint on Miss Neilson. At my request the Misses Glenn sate anew, I wish to make two bolder & better pictures than the first. While they sat I had to refuse admittance to three companies of Ladies & gentlemen, as many as 14. In the afternoon 3 other companies visitted me & Mr [blank] engaged his picture to begin tomorrow.

Thursday 3d Feb^{y} 1820. Summer warmth but begins to blow between 9 & 10. Showers all day & night rain. Paint on Miss Neilson. Evening Messrs. Hill, Chapin & Dykes with me.

Friday [Feb.] 4th. Clear & mild. Meet Mr [blank] who renews the subject of his daughter's picture, if she does not come here, I to go to his house on [blank] River. Receive a letter from my Wife all well Sat^{y} last. Paint on Miss Neilson & two Misses Glenn. Mr Neilson is to sit on Sunday, Mr Hunter Tomorrow. Walk with Crawley. Even^{g} read.

[Feb.] 5th Mild & clear. Begin Mr Hunter's picture, at 8 OClock. Paint on Misses Glenn. My room throng'd

with visitors. Afternoon by appointment call'd on Mr Farmer & went with him to see Mrs John Taylor & Miss Roberts her niece. See a head by Stewart & a number of pictures by Gessner a son of the poet. Engage to paint a portrait of Miss Roberts $75 size playing on the Harp. Ev^g at G. B. Hills.

Sunday [Feb.] 6th Dissapointed by Mr James Neilson who was to have sate. Mr Robertson calls in & engages a picture & sits. The weather is still clear & warm as spring, rather summer, for after sunset the inhabitants were sitting at their doors and windows as in July. Evening call at Williamsons & then read at my room. Mr Powhatan Robertson is a young lawyer and has the blood of Pocahontas in his veins. The family are among the rich of the Land.

Feb^y 7th Still warm but cloudy. Paint on Hunter & Robertson. Begin a portrait of James Neilson. Many Visitors. Afternoon clear & warm. Walk

Feb^y 8th Clear & mild. Paint on Hunter & Robertson & Neilson & begin another portrait of Cox.

[Feb.] 9th Clear & mild after a rainy night. This afternoon summer warm. Even^g windy. Paint on Robertson to finishing, & on Neilson and make a sketch of Miss Roberts at her Harp by going to Mr Taylors (her uncle) Even^g call at Maxwells. Write to my wife.

[Feb.] 10th A rainy day. Paint on Hunter Neilson & Miss Roberts. Receive a letter from my wife of the 4th & 5th inst. at that time cold & stormy in N. Y. Even^g read Tom Jones. Violent wind & rain.

[Feb.] 11th Friday Fine clear morning. Send off Powhatan Robertsons picture to Richm^d Paint on Coxe & Miss Roberts. Even^g at Williamsons.

[Feb.] 12th Saturday. Paint on Hunter & Miss Roberts. Afternoon walk. The weather is clear & perfect Spring. The red bird is singing & the Frogs are in full Chorus. By invitation take Tea & pass the evening at Mr Taylors, Miss Neverson & her brother & Mr Farmer present. Taylor is a strange original & Farmer another tho' perfectly opposite. Miss Neverson a fine woman & Miss Roberts both Musicians, with Mrs T's politeness & the oddity of her husband make an agreable evenings entertainment.

Sunday Feb^{y} 13th 1820. Still spring. Walk. Paint on Miniatures, and draw. Last friday (y^{e} 11th) I had been in Norfolk 16 weeks & I paid to day to that time. It appears that since I left home I have expended in

Travelling	50
Materials as Strainers, colours &c	76
Lottery tickets by agreem^{t} taken for a picture	30
Frames	40
Sent home	175
personal expences & rent	233
	604

Thus my own expences in Norfolk (including rent of painting room) has been $14.57 per week, but I would not have agreed to pay so high for board, but that Mr Glenn has given me work to the am^{t} of $125, part done, part engaged.

Afternoon & part of Ev^{g} at Williamson renewing subject of Exh^{n} paint^{g} & House rooms. He engages for 300 rent & to take a part in pictures. Read Tom Jones.

Monday [Feb.] 14th Clear & warm as spring in the morning & the heat encreases to summer temperature. Paint on Hunter, Neilson & Miss Roberts, and draw for the latter at Taylors. Receive a letter from [Alexander]

Robertson by which I find the Salary of the Keeper of the A Academy is taken off and a disposition manifested to change the keeper owing to his absence. I will write to decline being a Candidate for the Office. Write accordingly to the Directors & my son.

[Feb.] 15th Tuesday. Perfect summer in warmth. The grass growing, birds singing & gardens making. Paint on Neilson & Miss Roberts. Among my Visitors to day Mr & Mrs Wright Southgate. Evening still Summer. Read. Three fifths of the slaves in the Slave States are added to the free persons represented. So that we have in Congress 20 representatives of Slaves. Virginia has 582,104 free persons & 392,518 slaves. Thus while it requires 35000 free persons to send a representative from N. Y. 25,559 free persons in Virginia do the same (or are equal). Of the Territory ceded to y^e^ U. S. North W. of y^e^ Ohio, it was determined in 1787 and ratified under the present Constitution That there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude within s^d^ Territory. Ohio, Indiana & Illinois, are the States formed on this compact. Kentucky formed out of Virginia was admitted without prohibiting Slavery, as the Inhabitants were considered as Virginians, & Vermont was admitted without this prohibition, because she had already herself prohibited. The western Territory of N. Carolina & Georgia was ceded to U. S. under the express condition that Slavery should not be prohibited, & as that territory was included in the original compact am^g^ the States which admitted existing Slavery, the new States of Tennessee, Alabama & Mississippi, are of course Slave States. But in all these transactions not only was the power of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the New States *not denied*, but positively admitted.

Wed^y^ [Feb.] 16th Still summer. Receive a letter from my Son. Writ to Alex^r^ Robertson. Paint on Neilson & Miss Roberts. Mr Low tells me that the Therm: is at 75. I have had my flannels off for two days & still too

warm. I sweat sitting at my work. They say it is very uncommon here. By a N. Y. paper I see that on the 10th the[y] had the severest snow storm known for years. At that time nothing here indicated Winter. Afternoon write to my son. Walk. Therm at 79. Evening read.

[Feb.] 17th Send letter to my son. Same warm weather with high wind. Call on Mr [James] McGibbon who had called on me some days past. He is apparently a worthy man but he is a very bad artist. He says he reside[d] 15 years in Boston & 9 in Baltimore. That there is not portrait painting enough done in Balt: to support one artist. That if he had heard of my being here he would not have come here. Finish Mr James Neilson. Rain & clears up very pleasant. Afternoon Walk.

[Feb.] 18th Clear & Springlike. Paint on Mr Hunter, Miss Neilson & Miss Roberts. Receive a letter from my Wife. Afternoon ride with Mrs Taylor & Miss Roberts to T's country house & make sketches of scenery for my picture of Miss R. Miss Wilson of N. Y. with us. Call at Mr Lamb's. These seats are on the E branch of Elizabeth River 3 Miles from Norfolk. The novelties resulting from the climate are the robin now pairing, the Holly tree with its evergreen leaves & red berries of a bitter sweet taste, & the "Fair maid of February a beautiful species of Iris.

[Feb.] 19th This day I am 54 years of age. Many reflexions might be suggested by that circumstance. The day is a cold spring day. I put on my flannels again. Paint on Miss Roberts. Afternoon walk. Even^{g} read Tom Jones.

Sunday Feb^{y} 20th Warm & showry. Paint Miniatures. Write to my Wife. Williamson calls on me & I go to Tea wth him.

Monday [Feb.] 21st Clear & cool. Send off letter to my Wife. Paint on Cox & Miss Roberts. Evening at Maxwells. James Dwight came here on his way to Richmond.

[Feb.] 22d Hoar frost. Clear & mild. Paint on Neilson & Miss Roberts. Many Visitors. Crocker engages for his & his Wifes & from 1 to 3 more portraits. Even[g] read in American.

[Feb.] 23d Clear & mild. Paint on Miss Neilson & Miss Roberts. Afternoon walk. So warm that I discard my flannel shirt again. Even[g] with Hill, Capron & Dykes.

[Feb.] 24th Summer heat. I yesterday first observed peach or Apricot trees in bloom & to day see more. Paint on Miss Neilson, Mr Neilson & Cox. Afternoon at Neilson's. Even[g] read Buck tail Bards [91] &c

Friday [Feb.] 25th Last night a thunder storm & to day clear & very warm. Paint on Miss Neilson & Miss Roberts. Even[g] read American & Tom Jones.

Sat[y] [Feb.] 26th In my walk this morning I heard for the first time this year the melody of the Thrush. Green fields blooming trees & singing Birds now announce the spring & the temperature is summer. Paint on Hunter & Cox. Afternoon walk tho' the heat is oppressive. Read Don Juan (Byron's) lent by W Nivison Esq[r] on whom I call'd to day & was introduced to Messrs. Myers & Parker

Sunday [Feb.] 27th Rain in the night and showers this morning. Finish Don Juan. 2 cantoes. Strange, powerful, good & evil. Paint Miniature. weather cooler.

Monday [Feb.] 28th Cold & windy but not frost. Paint on Neilson and Miss Roberts. Yesterday as I took my afternoon walk, a little boy came from a genteel looking house & in the name of Mr Myers asked me in. I accepted the invitation. I had seen the gentleman at Nivi-

[91] "Bucktail bards" were poets who wrote in praise of the N. Y. Tammany Society. Kilroe, *Saint Tammany and the Origin of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York* (N. Y. 1913), 148, 165.

son's office. I was now introduced by Mr Sam[l] Myers to his brother John & another gentleman & took some wine in pleasant conversation. In the even[g] I mentioned the circumstances to Williamson & found him very bitter against Myers, calling him Murderer. S. Myers is the man who shot Bowden for striking his (Myers') father. The elder Myers has been one of the first merchants here, but failed last summer. They are jews, well informed, genteel & uncommonly handsome in the younger part of the family. Evening write to my Wife.

Tuesday Feb[y] 29th Winter cold. Give to Lyford to send by the Alligator Capt[n] Hart a bundle & letter to go with 10 Hams to my wife. Write to my wife by Mail. Paint on Miss Roberts. Walk. Even[g] it has become milder. Write to my Wife. Read in Maxwells letters from Virginia.

Wed[y] March 1st Fine Spring morning. Finish & send off letter to my Wife. Paint on Miss Roberts. Ev[g] colder. Read Maxwells letters.

Thursday Mar: 2d High wind & winter cold: no ice, I presume only from the effect of the wind. The cold increases towards noon with violent Snow squalls. Paint on Miss Roberts' picture.

[March] 3d After a very cold & windy night a clear calm cold morning. Water freezes in my painting room at noon. Rec[d] yesterday a letter from my Wife: all well last Saturday: then mild in N. Y. but snow still in the streets. Paint a little on Miss Roberts. Ev[g] at Williamsons.

[March] 4th After a cold night a mild March day. Paint on Neilson & Miss Roberts. Many Visitors. Ev[g] read Tom Jones.

Sunday March 5th A mild moist day. Paint on Lyford & Miss Roberts. Even[g] r[d] Tom Jones.

6th March. Monday. A warm spring morning. I do not see in my walks the effects of the late frost. All looks fresh & blooming. Paint on Miss Roberts. Ev^g read Tom Jones.

Tuesday [March] 7th Cold rain. Paint on Miss Roberts. Even^g read in Scots Visit to Paris 1814.

[March] 8th Wet & foggy. Afternoon & evening hard rain. Paint on Miss Roberts. This sweet little girl comes generally attended by some young Lady of her acquaintance & seems as much pleased with the business of sitting as she could be by any amusement whatever. In the afternoon Williamson call'd and we talk'd over the business of my next Winters establishment. Even^g read "Visit to Paris.

[March] 9th After violent rain thro' the night, a fair morning. At noon rain again & continues. Paint on Miss Roberts.

[March] 10th Last night excessive rain & the morning wet. Clears up in the evening & the night frost. Paint on Miss Roberts.

[March] 11th Send off letter to my Wife. A cold morning & black frost. Passed last Evening at Mr Caprons. Painted a little on Miss Roberts. Even^g read Williams' France.

Sunday [March] 12th Another cold morning. Write to my wife in answer to one from her received yesterday.

[March] 13th Cold & cloudy. send letter to my wife by Jon: Butler. Write note to Mr Bowden to fix my engagem^t w^th him. Paint on Miss Neilson & Miss Roberts. Read: Dict: of A & S [92] art: Statues, proportions of the Venus de Medicis, Length 10 faces and 2 thirds. From the bottom of the right ear to the clavicles 1 face. From the center of the left patella to the sole of the foot, 3 faces. breadth of the face from ear to ear 2 noses & 3/12—thick-

[92] G(eorge) Gregory, *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, first American edition, Philadelphia, 1815-17.

ness of the neck 2 noses. Shoulders 7 noses $\frac{9}{12}$—breast 5 noses $\frac{5}{12}$. a little above the naval 4 noses $\frac{9}{12}$: of the hips 6 noses $\frac{4}{12}$: of the thigh 3 noses $\frac{6}{12}$: of the knee 2 noses $\frac{1}{12}$: of the leg $2\frac{2}{12}$: of the ancle small of y^{e} leg $2\frac{3}{4}/_{12}$: of the bones of the ancle 1—$\frac{5}{12}$: of the foot at the roots of the toes 1—$\frac{9}{12}$: Length of the lower arm 4—$^{1}1\frac{1}{12}$: of the upper arm 7 noses. Thickest part of the arm above the elbow 1 nose $^{1}1\frac{1}{12}$: below 1—$\frac{8}{12}$: of the wrist 1 nose $\frac{1}{2}/_{12}$: From the center of the wrist to the middle finger 1—$^{1}9\frac{1}{12}$: middle finger 1—$8\frac{1}{4}/_{12}$: breadth of the hand 1—$4\frac{1}{2}/_{12}$:

Mar: 14th Warm & cloudy. Paint on Mr Neilson.

Wed^{y} [March] 15th Paint on Miss Neilson & Miss Roberts. Receive a note from Mr John T Bowdoin & answer it giving my opinion on the subject of his childs picture & my prices. Even^{g} read "Hermit in London.

Thursday [March] 16th Fine spring weather. Paint on Miss Neilson. Afternoon go to Portsmouth. Ev^{g} read.

Friday [March] 17th Spring like but cool. Yesterday rec^{d} letter & newspapers from my Wife: A letter from Alex^{r} Robertson & a letter of Thanks from the Directors for faithful services &c as keeper of the Academy. Paint on Watson, Miss Neilson & Miss Roberts. Even^{g} read.

Saturday 18th March. I have been in Norfolk 21 weeks & one day. The weather to day is cold & damp. Clear evening. Paint on Mr Neilson & Miss Neilson. Read in American. Walk.

Sunday [March] 19th Fine clear morning & white frost. Out of town the water in the ditches frozen over. The day pleasant. Paint Miniature. Receive letter from my wife. Dine with Sam^{l} Meyers. Walk.

Monday [March] 20th Mild & cloudy. Write to my wife. Rain in afternoon & night. Paint on Cox & Miss Roberts.

[March] 21st Clear & mild. Becomes cloudy & evening rain. Paint on Miss Neilson. Even^{g} read N. Y. papers. It is now long since I have begun a picture & I look anxiously to the close of my stay here. I have many Visitors, much praise or flattery. I have been constantly employed & after all shall arrive in N. Y. perhaps as poor as I left it. I have supported myself & my family & perhaps open'd a source of employment and support (or more) for the future. I ought to be thankful. I am, altho' my spirits sink sometimes.

Wed^{y} [March] 22d Paint on Miss Neilson. Weather cool & damp. Receive letter from Sully who says he will be on here y^{e} 31st & wishes me to find a room to Exhibit his "Washington at the Delaware." Busy myself in looking at public & private buildings. See Mr [John E.] Holt, Mayor, offer of the Court house.

Thursday 23d March. Paint on the Misses Glenn. Look for room for Sully. None high enough. Ev^{g} at Maxwells.

[March] 24th Find a room at Orphans Assylum that may do. Write to Sully. Springlike clear morning. Begin a picture of Mr Robt Taylor, father of General Taylor. Mr [Thomas L.] Callender, M: Judahs partner arrives from N. C. We hear of the Duel of Barron & Decatur. Walk to Portsmouth.

[March] 25th Sat^{y} Warm. Begin a picture of Mr Callender. Walk.

[March] 26th Sunday. Beautiful morning. Write to my Wife in answer to one of yesterday. Paint on Callender. See y^{m} culling Asparagus.

[March] 27th Write to Sully. Paint on Callender who departs. Paint on old Mr Taylor & Miss Roberts. Very Warm. Walk. Evening Thunder shower. Call on Williamson.

[March] 28th Very pleasant. Paint on Mr Taylor. See Asparagus in Market at 6 cents a bundle: but not like N. Y.

[March] 29th Wed^{y} Cloudy, a little rain. Paint on Miss Roberts & Miss Glenn.

[March] 30th Thursday. Cold. Paint on Mr Taylor & Miss Glenn. Read Ivanhoe.

[March] 31st Friday. I have been in Norfolk 23 weeks. Sully's picture arrives without him. He writes me he is painting in Baltimore. Paint on Mr Taylor. Weather cool but pleasant. Begin a portrait of Math: Glenn: jr.

April 1st 1820. Saturday. Warm. Evening Thunder, hail & rain. Rain all night. Paint on Miss M: Glenn, & on Watson. Receive letter from my Wife of 26th March. Then warm in N. Y. as here.

Ap^{l} 2d Sunday. Cold & wet. Write to my Wife. Storm increases. Paint Miniatures. Aft: r^{d} Clarke's Matthew. Mathew the same as Levi. This Gospel (Godspel) written in Hebrew & translated into Greek. The translator unknown. The Christ or the Messiah is the anointed, whether King, priest or prophet. The Genealogy of Christ accord^{g} to Matt. is thro' David to Joseph who found her with child before "they came together." Isaiah gave as a sign to Ahaz that his enemies sh^{d} not prevail against him. "A virgin shall bear a son." This is s^{d} to be a prophecy of the Christ, if it was a sign to Ahaz, it occurred in the time of Ahaz. John y^{e} Baptist was 6 mo: older than Christ. There is a very remarkable passage from the Hindoo scriptures quoted here by Clarke on the performance of moral duties. In the Temptation, What is translated "If thou be *the* Son of God" should be "*a* son of God" Prophets were called the Sons of God, & even sometimes God. Evening read. The storm continues cold & violent.

Ap^{l} 3d Monday. Cold, cloudy & a little Snow. Afternoon & Even^{g} clear & cold. Paint on young Glenn.

Walk. Sully's picture is finer than I at first thought. The Horses are admirable. The whole composition grand. The distance sublime. Ev^g read. I find in Gregory's Dict: of Arts & Sci: a good Treatise on paint palette from Vandyke & Remb^t

1. Flake White, 2 Yellow Oker & its tints. 3 Light red & its tints. 4. Verm: & its tints. 5 Lake, Vermillion, & White. 6. Rose tint e i Lake, a little Indian red & White. 7 Blue tint e i Ultram. & White (it follows the yellows) 8 Lead tint e i Ivory black & white. 9. Green tint Pruss: blue, Yellow ockre & White. 10. Half shade tint e i Indian red and White. 11 Shade tint e i Lake, Indian red, black & white, this is Murrey colour (half tint). 12 Red shade e i Lake & Indian red. 13. Warm shade e i Lake & Brown Pink. This is for the first & second painting. Dark shade is Ivory black & a little Indian red.

Palette for Finishing for Flesh requires in addition, Carmine & its tints, Lake, Brown pink, Ivory Black, prussian blue. Meaning I presume to glaze with these pure.

To Dead Colour Flesh

Make out the whole with the shade tint (composed of Lake Indian red black & white) and the Light red tint in different degrees of lightness & then strengthen (after sweetening) the shadows by the Warm shade e i Lake & Brown pink. *Next* (still the first painting) improve the red & yellows, put in y^e blues & so of the shadows.

Second Painting

Oil the work & wipe off (*Bad*) Scumble light red & yellow tints over the corresponding light parts, & glaze the shadows with the shadow tints, then touch lightly with the virgin tints the reds yellows & blues.

Third Painting

Correct the glazing, then touch upon the light parts.

April 4th Tuesday. Clear & cold. Last night a hard frost. Paint on Miss Glenn. Visit Sully's picture both yesterday & to day. Even^g clear & cold. Read Painting.

Drapery.[93]

General rule. Make out the first lay with three tints, light middle tint & shadow (y^e same colour as the middle tint, with less of the light in it. Reflections warmer than the local colour.

[93] Continuing the abstract of the article "Painting", in Gregory's *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences.*

For White Sattin

Four degrees of colour. 1. White. 2. White & a little Ivory black. 3 Middle tint, or pearl, e i White black & a little Indian red. (The second must appear always between the 1st & 3d) 4. The shadow tint which is the Middle tint with less white.

Second lay.

Is the reflections, which are made by brown ochre and white (or yellow ochre) and for dark reflections the middle tint and Brown ochre.

Blue Sattin

Paint it in with white & Black & white. First lay 3 tints of prussian blue & White. The middle tint of these 3 is azure. In finishing add or glaze Ivory black for the shades & brown oker for the reflexes.

Velvet

May be painted at once. Make out the first lay with the middle tint & shade tint on which lay the high light with light touch. Finish the shadows as of sattin.

To make a Blue Velvet by Glazing, first paint it black & White, then when dry glaze with pr Blue, or glaze the lights with Ultramarine & the rest wth p: B.

Scarlet & crimson Sattins and Velvets. A tint of yellow oker, light red & white is the ground of scarlet, and the Shadows Indian red, and Indian red & Black. Second painting Vermillion & white for Sattin & Velvet (*Vermillion alone for cloth*). The Middle tint is vermillion and a little lake or Indian red and add black in the darkest shadow. The difference between Scarlet & Crimson is that the high lights of Crimson are made whiter & the Middle tint is made darker. The reflects are light red & vermillion. When this is dry glaze with Lake & improve the shadows & reflects. The Scarlet requires one very thin glaze. The Crimson *two* stronger.

Pink Sattin

Lights, Carmine & White, middle tint Lake, carmine & white, Thin Lake & Indian red, reflects vermillion. (Deepest shadows V. Brown)

Yellow Sattin

Ground, Yellowish white shaded by yellow & brow[n] oker. Then paint the lights with Kings yellow, first tint yellow ochre & pearl tint, Middle tint is yellow, Brown ochre & pearl tint. Shade, Brown pink and Brown ochre. Finishing, The reflects yellow oker & sometimes yellow oker & light red & the shadows are strength[th]en'd with Brown pink & burnt umber.

Green Sattin

Ground, yellow ochre, a little white & pr: Blue. Brown pink & p: Blue for shadows. Paint with: 1. Kings yellow & a very little p: Blue. 2. add more blue. 3 Shadow, add more blue & brown pink. Darker, the Brown pink & blue. Querie, What is equivalent to Kings Yellow.

Black Sattin & Velvet

Ground. Light red & Indian red & black for the shadows. Finish[s] For y[e] lights Black white & a little Lake, middle tint less of y[e] white. Shade, lake, Brown pink & black.

Process. Glaze the shadows with the Shade tint & add Black for the deepest, then lay in the whole of the light with the middle tint & touch the high lights on it. The reflects are Burnt umbre or brown ochre.

Linen

The same colours as white sattin except for 2. take Ultramarine ashes instead of Ivory black. Dead colour with pure white broad for the lights & the pearl (black white & Indian red) for the shadow. Finish by glazing the lights with white with as little oil as can be, then lay in the middle tint & shade, touch then the extreme lights & last put in the blue tint. Let this dry & then put in the ref[l]exes and finish.

Black Grounds.

Tint 1. pearl. 2. Lead. 3 Yellow made of Brown ochre & white. 4 Olive, of yellow ochre, Pr: Blue & white 5. Indian red & white. 6. Murrey, which is pearl with more Indian red. 7. Stone of white, umber, black & Indian red. Dark shade of Black & Indian red. With these tints Harmoniously mingled most grounds for portraits may be made & if a curtain is introduced, lay it in if a colour approaching y[e] finishing colour & whe[n] you finish let it partake of the ground. Landscape in background should be likewise broke with the other colours & sky broke with the Lead (black & white) and Flesh (Indian red & white) tints. The Murrey tint is good for distant objects (Indian red, white & a little black) Umber and Dark warm shades in the near ground. (Terra de Cassel is the same thing as Vandyke brown In the foregoing directions it is not mentioned altho' it is the best & richest shadow & glazing colour known.

Raw umber & white is the best Drab for cloth. Claret colour, Vandyke Brown, Black & Lake. Lilac, Carmine, pr: blue & white.

April 5th Wed[y] Clear & mild. Hoar frost in the morning. Paint on Mr. Taylor & Matilda Glenn. Afternoon

found a room full of Company viewing Sully's picture. Walk. Ev^{g} Read.

[April] 6th Thursday. Paint on Matthew Glenn, & on the Drapery of Miss Roberts.

[April] 7th Friday. Paint on Matthew & Eliza Glenn. Walk. Ev^{g} rain.

[April] 8th Sat^{y} Paint on Matthew Matilda & Eliza Glenn. Receive letter from my Wife. Even^{g} rain. T Brown is again Norfolk.

Sunday [April] *9th* Write remarks on Sully's picture for the Herald, & write to my Wife. Afternoon Walk. Ev^{g} at Crawley's. Shaw came in, just return'd from Savannah, Augusta &c and represents the South as a paradise of riches. He says he obtained more subscribers to his work in Savannah, and that after the fire than in any place in y^{e} U. S. Trott he says got nothing to do in Charleston, Shields a great deal.

Monday [April] *10th* Pleasant but cool. Paint on Matthew & Eliza Glenn. Visit from Mr John Myers. Mr Low calls & says he will go to N. Y. next friday.

Tuesday [April] *11th* Cold rain. Paint on Matt: Glenn. Afternoon clear. Walk.

Wed^{y} [April 12] Clear Warm: Afternoon Summer heat. Paint on Mr. R. Taylor & Matt: Glenn.

Thursday 13 Ap^{l}: Clear and very pleasant: Paint on Mr Taylor & Matt Glenn and Miss Roberts. Afternoon walk. Even^{g} write to my Wife. Sully's picture yields here 116 dollars (Washington $64, Baltimore 240)

Friday April 14th 1820. I have been 25 weeks in Norfolk and 26 from home. Paint on Mr Taylor Master & Miss Glenn. Night rain.

Sat^{y} [April] 15th Paint on Mr Taylor, finish Matt: Glenn jun^{r} paint on Miss Glenn. Warm day. Night violent Thunder & Rain.

Sunday Ap^{l} 16th Cold & wet. Paint Miniature. Afternoon Walk. Ev^{s} read in Matthew with Clark.

Ap^{l} 17th. Cool. Finish Mr Lows picture, Mr Brimhalls picture & Mr Glenn's miniature.

[April] *18th.* Preparing to depart. Williamson says he will get old Mr Taylors picture sold for me at 75, frame 25, & I am to paint one of myself for him. Paint on Mr Robt. Taylor, the Misses Glenn & Miss Roberts. Walk. Call on Moran. Ev^{s} at Hills.

[April] *19th.* Summer. Paint on the Misses Glenn. Even^{s} read in Matthew & Clark.

[April] *20th* Summer. Paint as yesterday General Taylor a Visitor. Expressed himself pleased with his father's picture. Williamson a long while with me. Begin to pack up. Afternoon reading over the beginning of this volume. Every thing being then new, is noticed. Now, my journal is scant. I observe a query respecting Mr Low. He is the son of John Low, & directed me to his abode in N. Y. at his Uncles at the Union Bank. Morse is at Williamsburg teaching Elocution in the College. The Bishop is expected here tonight. My remark on the want of Book Stores &c shows how little a stranger can know, or does usually know of a Town. There are two pretty good Book Stores, a neglected Athenaeum & a subscription Circulating Library. Afternoon take a long walk partly in the woods. A very large Black snake gazed at me & then fled. A lizard of a size & kind different from any had seen, did the same. I presume it was 7 Inches long. The only new bird I have noticed is a beautiful Bluebird of plumage & note altogether different from the Common bird so called. The Dog wood & yellow Jessamine entwin[e] the woodland.

I consider the following persons as having engaged to

employ me on my return next Fall. Some are positive. I have given Williamson a subscription paper, & shall leave one with Lyford & another with Hill.

Mr Williamson	2
Mr Steed	1
Mr Nivison	2
Mrs John Taylor	1
Mr Francis B Lawrence	2
Mr Broughton	2
Mr Brimhall	2
Mr Garrison	1

Of the Tickets taken of G. B. Hill for his picture by previous agreement, Nos 4748 & 3180 have come out Blanks, 2279 is still in the wheel.

Friday Ap^{l} 21st Extremely warm. Pay all my accounts. I have in Cash

Silver		4...	
Northern Notes		10...	
Virginia notes		85...	
N. C.		69...	
		168...	
W's Check		60...	
		228...	
Due from Mrs Taylor	150	150 p^{d}	
Wm Neilson	50	50 p^{d}	428
Lt. Dulany	25		
Graham S. C.	25		
Callender N. Y.	25		
Lyford	20		
		295	
		523	

Mr R Taylor to be sold by Williamson picture & frame 100

Friday Ap^{l} 21st Continued. Call on Nivison & borrow, Quarrels of Authors." Meet Bradish [94] of N. Y. (Gibbs' brother in law) he is going to join the Columbus (I suppose as Chaplin). Call this morning on Bishop Moore who declines setting at present on acc^{t} of business. Chat a pleasant hour with him. Ther: this afternoon 85.

Saturd^{y} Ap^{l} 22d Extreme heat yesterday & to day 85 to 87. Pack up. Change money &c. Read in Quarrels of Authors. Receive letter from my Wife of 16th, all well.

Sunday April 23d The early morning very pleasant. It is completely summer and the red Clover is in bloom. Read in Quarrels. Go to church & hear my friend Moore preach a weak Sermon with vile Orthoepy. Read again.

Monday April 24th 1820. Leave 2 packing cases, 2 Jugs, 1 belt & my Trunk to be sent on by Water, Mr Lyford taking charge of them. The morning is warm & clear, summer heat. Shake hands with Williamson & a few others. Good bye to Norfolk for the present. Commodore Bainbridge goes with us to Old Point Comfort & there on his Barge proceeds to the Columbus in Lynhaven bay. Mrs Bainbridge goes on to Baltimore. Renew acquaintance with them. He is going to Constantnople & perhaps into the Black sea. As we pass the constellation in Hampton Roads, Comm: Morris comes on board & I see the ceremony of manning the shrouds & tops & cheering. The Sailors in their White Jackets & trowsers clustering to the tops of the Mast was picturesque in the effect. The Wind springing up fresh from the North changes our temperature to almost cold & the boat passing near the center of the great Bay, every appearance is sea-like.

[94] Luther Bradish (1783-1863). See *The Eclectic Magazine*, LX, 112, Sept., 1863; *Dict. Amer. Biog.*, II, 567. He married in 1814, as his first wife, Helen Elizabeth Gibbs, daughter of George Gibbs, of Newport, R. I. She died in Boston, Mass., April 7, 1816, aged 29. (*N. Y. Gazette*, April 12, 1816). Dunlap was incorrect in the assumption that Bradish went as chaplain, although he sailed on the *Columbus*.

Tuesday [April] 25th A fine mild morning & at Sun rise, 16 miles S of Baltimore, near 200 miles from Norfolk already. We have several Methodist preachers on board going to *Conference*. I enquired of Comm: Morris respecting Young Fairley that I might report to his friends. The report is favourable & the Commadore expressed himself very much pleased with his conduct in every respect, as an officer & a gentleman. he mention'd [James H.] Clinton (DeWitts son) but said no more than he was well. Chamberlain likewise from N. Y. *Provost* he left well. A steam boat meets us & takes some of our passengers on to French Town. Land at ½ past 7. I go to [Rembrandt] Peales & thence to Sully's room, his palette at present No. 1 B. Sienna & White 2 Vermillion & White 3 as No 1 4 as No 2 5 No 3 & Cobalt 6 D[itt]o & Cobalt 7 Vermillion 8 D[itt]o & R Umber 9 R Umber & White 10 R Umber 11 Brown madder 12 Burnt T & Sienna 13 Asphaltum 14 Vandyke 15 Cobalt 16 Lake. No 16, 14, 13, 11, 6 used in the finishing.

I find Peale inferior to my preconceived notion of his merit & very much beneath Sully. [Jacob] Eickholtz makes the third port[r]ait painter at present in Baltimore & has the most business painting at $30. The City is very much improved since my visit of 1806. I stoped at the Fountain Inn where Bryden entertained me at that time in splendor—he has since died in poverty. In the afternoon found Sully painting Rembrant Peales portrait. At the Fountain Inn I found Jacob & Tho. Lewis. See Warren, Jefferson & Burke.

Wed^{y} 26th April 1820 leave Baltimore in Steam boat. Messrs. Arch^{d} Gracie & Stephen Van Ransaelaer in company. The weather is perfect summer. Gracie tells me that James A Hamilton has been deprived by y^{e} Clintonians of his office of Master in Chancery.

The weather continues Summer & the passage to French Town 70 miles is pleasant. The ride from French T. to Newcastle we made in ab^{t} 3 hours, arriving at the

Delaware & again embarking at ½ past 4. At 9 in y^e^ even^g^ arrive at Phil^a^ & call on Mrs Sully.

Thursday 27th Ap^l^ 1820. Judds Hotel. Cloudy morning. Walk. Meet Messrs Gracie & Van Ranssaeller. Pass the morning at West's picture & at the Academy. See no reason to alter my opinion respecting West & Alston as expressed last Fall.

Friday [April] 28th leave Phil^a^ & arrive at home about 7 OClock in the Even^g^ All well.

I have in my pocket		$366.	
Delaney owes me		25.	
Graham		25	p^d^
Lyford		20.	p^d^
I may expect from Williamson for Mr R Taylors picture		100	p^d^
I find at Home		150	
		686	
The Academy owes me		140	
Lott owes me			
I owe House rent		118.75	p^d^
Taylors bill		55	p^d^
Grocers		32.49	p^d^
Deposit	340		
Draw out	151.24		
May 5th 1820	$188.76		

[William Dunlap's expenses in Norfolk, 1819-1820]

Coach hire N. Y.	.75
To Bristol	5.25
Brandy, Bed at Trenton	.37½
Breakfast Steam boat on Del.	.50
Shaving & ferriages	.37½
Steam boat from Bristol to Phil.	.50
Porterage &c	.31½
Judds Tavern Phil 1 day	1.50
Porterage &c.	.37½
Steam boat to Bristol.	.50
Breakfast	.50
Brandy &c. at Bristol	.12½
Steam boat & breakfast [Oct.] 19th	1.

Pencils & paints		5.50
Wests picture		.25
Coach hire to Boat [Oct.] 20th		.50
Steam boat, Dinner and Stage, to Frenchtown		3.75
Steam boat & supper to Balt:		3.50
Steam b^{t} &c to Norfolk		15.25
Porterage, toll bridge		.37½
Norfolk, 4 Mahogany pannels		5.
	Oct^{r} 25th [1819]	46.19
Nov. 1st	An Eazle	1.
10th	painting pannels	1.
10th	postage	.50
11th	Washing	2.
	Balsam of Fir	.25
	Bridge tolls	.25
Nov. 15th	paper	.37
	painting pannels	1.25
	Varnish	1.
		53.87
Nov^{r} 20th	postage porterage, Wash^{g}	2. ½
21	postage & advertizing	2.25
25	Vermillion &c	.50
27th	postage	.25
30th	Comb, Clothes brush, post^{ge}	1.
		59.87½
Dec^{r} 2d	postage, Washing &c	2.25
6	Wafers, & suger of lead	.37½
8th	Soap & Candles	1.
	Pannels & Strainers &c	17.59
11th	Postage	.25
	Board, painting room, Lodging, fire &c &c 7 weeks to 10th Dec^{r} @ 12	84.
12th	Washing	1.
	Hams	5.
14th	postage	.25
15th	Cleaning	.50
16th	postage	.50
17th	Freight from Phil^{a}	1.50
	Drayman	.12½
	Nails	.25
18th	Freight from N. Y.	6.41
	Woodward for pannels	6.
23d	postage & Tailors charge	.50

Dec^{r}	25th	Candles, Wash^{g} Servants	4.50
	27	postage Serv^{t}	1.25
	30th	postage	.25
	31st	Am^{t} of Doughty's bill for Clothes & Colours	19.58
			212.96½

1819
[*sic* for 1820]

Jan^{y}	1st	Mr Osborne for 6 pannels & 2 stretching frames	7.50
	3d	Moving & 10 pannels	10.50
	7th	Washing & postage	1.25
			232.21½

1820

Jan^{y}	7th	Board to this date	54.
	12th	postage	.50
	14th	Frames (5)	40.
	15th	postage & porterage	.50
	19th	prussian Blue	1.
		Lottery Tickets	30.
	20th	Washing & servant	1.50
	21st	Sent home	150.
	2	[blot] postage &c 50 boots 2.50	3.
Feb^{y}		[blot] paper, postage &c	2.
	5th	a packing Case	1.50
	11th	Board &c	65.
	13th	Shoes, washing	4.
		omitted Jan^{y}	19.25
	14th	Servants & postage &c	1.
Mar:	6th	De Revere for frames	40.
		Washing, Servants &c	5.50
Mar:	20th	Tailors bill	4.50
	27th	Sent Home	50.
Ap^{l}	3d	2 Frames & prints	6.
		10 Hams for N. Y.	15.
	10th	Colours & Varnish	1.
	23d	Frames & Strainers	15.50
		Board in full	102.
		packing	2.
		Loss on money	1.80

Cash Dr	&		Cr
Bro^{t} fr: home	150	Nov^{r} 30	59.87½
from Morse	5	Sent home	20.
Mr Hopkins for Mrs Marsden	25	postage	.62½
		&c &c	1.62½

Mr Dennison	20	D°	.37½	
D[itt]o	19	Soap & Candles.	1.	
Mrs Hopkins	9	Osborne for pannels & stretchers	10.20	
Capt. Allen	39	Smith for Cloth & preparing &c	7.38½	
Mr Reardon	15	Board &c	84.25	
Mr Glenn	65	Sundries to Dec[r] 31st as enter'd in former page	46.61½	
Mr Lifford	5			
Mr Corrygen	15			
Mr Reardon	15			
Mr Coregen	10			
D°	5			
	397	Jan[y] 7th 1820	231.95	231.95
	232			

balance Jan[y] 1st 1820.	$165	Board &c	54.	
Low	40	Sundries	19.25	
Kennon	50	[Jan.] 15 D[itt]o	41.	
D°	17	19th D° ..	31.	
Reardon	15	21st D° ..	151.50	
Hill	30	Feb[y] 11th Board &c	65.	
Low	25	13th Sundries.	10.50	
Reardon	15	Mar: 6th D° ..	42.	
Cocke	39	27th D° ..	60.	
Cox	39	Ap[l] 10th Hams	15.	
Robertson	20	Frames ..	6	
Brimhall	34			
Maxwell	17.50			
Poll- [blot] for Robertson	20			
Callender	25			
Lyford	15			
	566.50			
	495.25		[495.25]	727.20
Ballance	71.25			
rec[d] from Watson	85.	Frames	11.	
Coxe	23.	D° &c &c	4.50	
Hunter	39.	Mr Glenn for board in full to Monday Ap[l] 24th	42.	
Crawley	7.			
	225.25			
	57.50		57.50	
	167.75			

Mrs Taylor ..	150.	Osborne for pack^{g} &c	2.
The Neilsons.	110.	Loss on N. C. notes	1.80
	427.75	Last day at Norfolk, Washing & Serv^{ts}	5.50
	63.55	Books	2.50
	$364.20	Baltim. Peales &c	.75
		Dinner	.25
		Supper and bed .	1.
		Porterage	.50
		Ap^{l} 26th Steam boat from Baltimore to French Town.3. Breakf^{t} .... .50 Stage to Newcastle ..1.50	5.
		Steam Boat to Baltimore	15.
		D° Newcastle to Phila. Dinner &c.	3.
		Bill at Phil^{a}....	4.
		Stage &c. to N. Y.	7.25
		Colours & Brushes	15.
			63.55

[Portraits painted by William Dunlap]

	Norfolk
Miss Glenn	25 pd 25 order'd fr[ame]
Matilda Glenn	25 pd 25 d°
Mr Brimhall	25 & order'd frame pd
Mr Delany	25
Mr Glenn	15 pd 15 order'd fr:
Mr Graham	30
Mrs Marsden	25 pd 34 order'd fr.
Mr Cox	30 & 9 pd order fr
Capt^{n} Watson	60 order'd fr: 25 pd
Mr Dennison	30 pd 30 order'd fr:

Capt[n] Allen	30 pd 39 order'd fr
Mr Wrifford.	—
	315
Mr Reardon	30 pd 30
Mr Lyfford	30 pd 5 & 15
Mr Corrigen	30 pd 30
Mr Lyfford Min:	10
Mr Low	50 pd 40 & 10
Mr Hill	30 pd
Mrs Reed	15 pd & 2.50 for fr.
Sold Mr Low a frame	15 pd
Mr Kennon	50 pd A frame 17 pd
Mr Neilson	50 50 pd
Mr Glenn	20 pd
	—
T A Cooper	650
Mr Reardon	30 pd 15 & 15
<Mr Williamson>	*<150>* countermanded
Mr Cocke	30 pd 15 & 24 fram'd
Mr Hunter	30 order'd fr: & 9 pd
Miss Glenn	
Matilda	
	—
	750

Feb[y]	5th 24 of them for pay	$750.	
	6th Mr Robertson	30	pd 20 order fr pd
	7th Mr James Neilson	50	pd
	8th R Cox	20	pd 9 pd
	9th Miss Roberts	150	pd
	P. R. frame & packing	10.25	pd

Mar: 24th Mr Robt Taylor (for Mr Williamson) who expects to sell it for me to some of the family for $75 (and did so)

25th Mr Callender	50	pd 25
31st Matt: Glenn	30	pd

DIARY OF WILLIAM DUNLAP

April 27, 1820, at Philadelphia

August 9, 1820—October 24, 1820.

Montreal, Canada

November 14, 1820—June 15, 1821

November 30, 1821—February 13, 1822

Norfolk, Virginia

(Manuscript volume lettered *Memoirs 26* owned by
Yale University Library)

Thursday Ap^{l} 27 1820. My impressions on seeing West's Christ Healing &c is the same as in Oct^{r} & the same or greater my admiration on seeing Alstons resuscitation of the Dead man.

I have passed my day in seeing these pictures (& others at the Academy) Stewarts Washington appears worse. Sully's Cooke still better. Sir Peter Lely & Netscher lovely. Sully is *now* colouring better.

1820

It is to me a melancholy reflection that the influence of the sordid or selfish feelings of mankind should be so much more frequently and ostentatiously displayed, than the effects of that natural, that unsophisticated love of the good and the kind, which lurks in despite of the world in every human breast. Surely it is better even in an interested view, to bestow our acclamations on the benefactors than on the destroyers of the Human race, on those who have enlightened or ameliorated the rugged path of Life than on those who have encreased its gloom or added to its asperities. Yet how quietly & unfeelingly do the herd of mankind receive the news of the good mans death who has laboured successfully to exalt our common nature, with what [illegible] those who not only have in common with their fellow men been benefitted by his labours but have received personally and immediately at his hands the gratuitously bestowed fruits of his labours.

These thoughts are forced upon my mind by the recent death of our illustrious countryman B West.[95]

It is the pride of Americans that he is an American, yet the American Academy of the Fine Arts, <*at the periodical*> not only does not convene its members to devise some token of public respect to his memory, but at the periodical return of their annual Exhibition proclaim a festival & turn their gallery into a place of revelry instead of a "House of mourning.

What a noble sacrifice to the art was this, for a fiery youth of 20 to resist the pomp pride & circumstance of War & abandon his struggling co-patriots in the hour of danger, to study painting in y^{e}

[95] Benjamin West died in London, March 11, 1820.

Capital of y^e^ Enemy. but he saw with the prophetic gaze of exalted genius the future glorious success of his present depressed countrymen & withdrew with a most heroic self immolation from a participation of their laurels that he might qualify himself for immortalizing their faces & their future victories on canvas. Born in Pennsylvania while it was a province of Britain, West by the force of genius removed himself to the old world when quite a youth, and immediately took a stand among the first Artists of Europe.

Mr Editor

In addressing a few lines to you on the subject of B West, I feel that it must be acceptable to the people of this great & growing Empire to peruse a tribute <*of gratitude*> to the memory of their illustrious countryman <*Benjamin West*>, and a few notices respecting him & some of his many pupils, recalled to my mind by the event of his death. In however homely guise I may express the feelings of my admiration & gratitude, my effort must be particularly pleasing to the members of the American Academy; who have done themselves so much honour on a former occassion by their exertions to procure the finest possible portrait of this patriarch of American painters, the gallant soldier & accomplished Artist, who relinquished the sword only that he might immortalize his brother Heroes by the efforts of his pencil, and who equally successful on the canvas and the field, is one of the most brilliant. To this Academy and its amiable president and gratefull of the pupils of West, I dedicate these desultory notices.

B. W. was born in Pennsylvania & notwithstanding this early removal from his native land; and his eminent success under the protecting patronage of his sovereign & the still more powerful influence of his own talents enthusiasm & industry, which place him among the luminaries of Europe, he always sighed for the simplicity of his native land, gloried in her prosperity & wished to be gathered to his fathers in her republican soil. Every American was as a brother to him, and his open doors & open heart ever received them as such, while to those who applied for his advice or instruction in the art over which he presided, freely received both, given with the kind full perfect wisdom of the sage & the simplicity of the child.

To the fame of his great success must be attributed that predilection which so many of our American youth have shewn for the art of painting, and to his benevolent liberality the astonishing efforts made by American genius in this sublime branch of the Fine Arts. That many of the aspirants failed is true & was inevitable, but a list of the names of those who participated in his bountiful instructions, which fell like the mercy and the dew of Heaven, upon the good and the bad, but like that mercy was "twice blessed" blessing "him that gave and him that took"—a simple list of names would prove to the astonishment of the reader, how great the influence of genius is when guided by benevolence.

My imperfect recollection gives me the names of—all Americans * —and every English Artist of [word omitted] for the last half century felt the influence of this Sun of the West. How delightful it must have been to this good old man to see his pupils prosper & to reflect that he never shut his heart or his mouth to the ingenuously ambitious youth. He had no secrets or mysteries, he told all he knew & added, "Work, night & day, draw from the Antique, paint from nature. Study the masters but copy nature." If there is any one of his pupils who imitated his paintings & not his conduct, who copied him as a painter and not as a man, who received his instructions in hopes to succeed him in fame & fortune by shutting up the treasure close for his own use alone—O how I pity him!

This venerable man, blessed by God with a sound constitution and a sound mind which told him and with wisdom to know <*the*> that temperance was the only guardian given by Heaven for the prolongation of health & life, saw several generations of men pass away while he still encreased in the vigour of intellect, and produced the surpassing works of his experienced genius. His last works Ch[rist] rejected & D[eath] on the pale Horse. Many of his older pupils & most of his contemporaries sunk before he terminated his delightful labours. His enemies (for even West had enemies) were silenced either by the grave or by <*the*> conviction. He has at length sunk in a good old age. He, as every good man & every man who exerts his talents for the benefit of man, rendered Earth more like Heaven, and I trust has his reward, tho' not snatched away in a Chariot of fire, his mantle during life covered many of his followers, and now rests in an especial manner upon his countryman Alston. Yes Alston—the accomplished Alston—if I had not seen the sublime picture of the Dead man & the bones of the prophet, I should have thought of Leslie & Sully as the Elijahs of our Elisha, but Alston is the man. Yet the mantle of Genius is ample, and Sully (the prince of American portrait painters) and the bold and excellent Leslie, may claim a share. Long may they continue to strive, *in Love,* for the greater share!

The three last named Artists all possess the irreproachable moral character, and the liberallity in diffusing their knowledge to others, which render'd their great master so amiable.

New York Aug^{t} 9th 1820. Wed^{y} afternoon 4 OClock leave home for Montreal in the Steam Boat Richmond. Secretary Thompson, Dr Bronson & others of my acquaintance on board. Again I miss the scenery of the Highlands by passing in the night.

* On the inside of the cover of this manuscript volume, *Memoirs 26,* Dunlap wrote the following list of artists: "Stewart, Wright, Trumbull, Mather Brown, Peale, Earle, Dunlap, Fulton, Malbone, Sergeant, R. Peale, Waldo, King, Sully, Leslie, Alston, Morse, Newton."

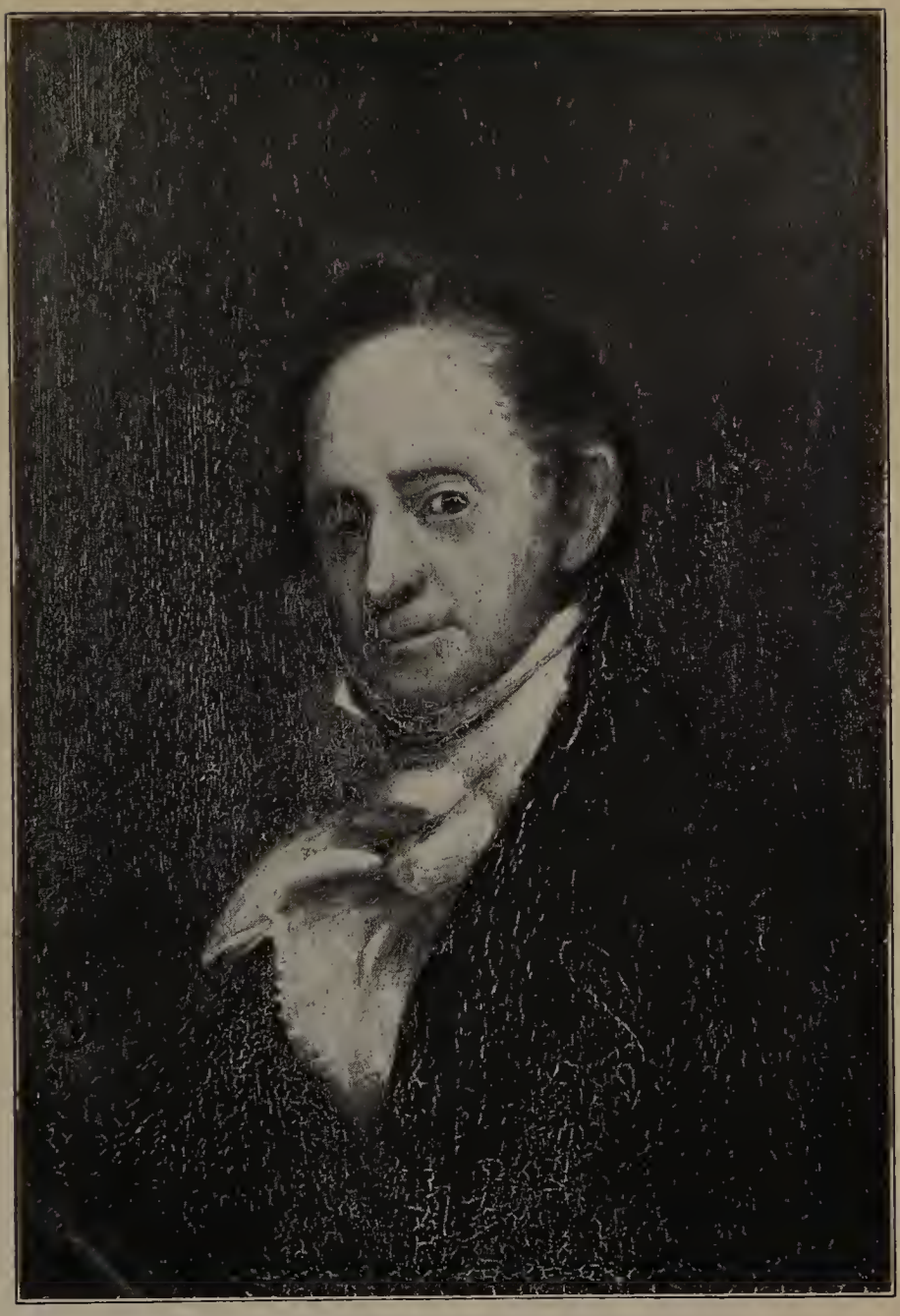
Aug^{t} 10th From Hudson to Athens they have open'd a passage or canal, through the low Island which Interven'd. The Congress Steam boat leaves Whitehall every Wed^{y} & Sat^{y} at 2 P. M.—passage 9 dollars to St. Johns. I arrive at Albany at ½ 1 OClock, and took up my quarters at Fobes'.

[Aug^{t}] 11th At 4 OClock proceed by the same rout as in 1816. They are rebuilding the part of Troy which was burnt. cross the river in a boat moved by 2 Horses on circular wheels. Lansinburg has grown. We find the Canal in progress and so on all the way. Schuyler's Village has Bourgoyne's Meadow. the Canal is cutting through it. Arrive at Whitehall about 9 OClock in the Evening.

[Aug.] 12th White Hall has grown—new houses, Stores & Inns built since 1816. a fine Lock commences the Canal Navigation of hewn Stone. Take my passage for St Johns. At Sandy Hill meet Mr Moore, son of Dr. Moore. here meet Birdsal, one of the Haerlaem height detachment. Moore joins us at W H & goes on. Embark at 2 P. M. The scenery at this place still pleases me. The Ships of War appear going to wreck. Have a view of Crown Point. The scenery of the Lake about sunset was beautiful.

[Aug.] 13th At sunrise I find myself between Cumberland head and Chazee, a poor village. The morn^{g} Cool. We pass Rouse's point where the U. S. have expended $300,000 in fortifications & now find them within the Eng: line.

All is now new to me. We pass the Isle au Noix where the English are erecting military works to the amount [of] three millions according to estimate. Here are various Vessels of War half finished left as the peace [of] 1814 found them. We land about noon at St Johns, a neat village & taking Stage for La Prairie pass over an extensive plain the farm houses extending almost all the way, 18 Miles. This is the Seigneury of St John,



WILLIAM DUNLAP (1766-1839)

By Himself

(In the Theodore Salisbury Woolsey Collection)

the seigneur receives 4½ pr. cent <*of the products*> on all property transferred. It being Sunday we met the peasants returning from Church, families in Carts, men on horseback & some of both sexes on foot. All unmixed french peasants—it is compleatly a foreign country. The small horses & cattle, peculiar dress & physiognomy of the people, manner of building both the stone houses & log cabins, mode of cultivation, all is foreign. La Prairie is a large French Village of Stone houses with tin roofs & a church of the same materials. We are now in view the Falls of La Chine to the W & Montreal to the N. E. with a noble expanse of Water between. Batteaux & a Steam boat in waiting. cross in the Steam boat to Montreal in about 40 minutes—9 miles.

Montreal. Here the same style of building prevails, all is French at first view, but the English Soldiers and other persons of that nation, & Americans make a medley, all appearing to retain their own dress and manners. French is however the prevailing language. Visit the parade & walk over part of the town.

Monday Aug^{t} 14th Walk. Write to my Wife by Mr Wilcox. Visit the Cathedral, an imposing effect—pictures all bad. Woman at Confession—here & there a devout individual. deliver letters to Thos. A. Turner (Alliston Turner & Co) president of the Bank of Canada. pleasantly received. deliver letter to Doctor Paine who introduces me to Mr Barrett, very pleasantly received. See the landing and military reception of Governor Lord Dalhousie, who with his lady & suite come to the Mansion house. Visit Cuninghams Book Store & Reading room, & see Bouchette's Map [96] & topographical history of Canada. Evening amused at an Auction room. retire at 9 but obliged to get up at Eleven owing to the noises of a Mason's Lodge over my head. at 1 OClock I get to bed for the night or morn^{g}

[96] Joseph Bouchette. For a list of his maps, see Philéas Gagnon, *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne* (Quebec, 1895), 659-660; Henry J. Morgan, *Bibliotheca Canadensis* (Quebec, 1867), 41-43.

Tuesday [Aug.] 15th At 6 OClock begin a walk to Finlay's at lower *Lachine* but taking the turnpike go to the Village of upper Lachine. on rising from the Flatts I have a fine view of the level on my left & the rising ground & mountains on my right. meet many men women & boys of the Cochnewagha's coming to town, most wear a black mantle, some blanketts, little differing in appearance from the tribes in ye State of N. Y. Opposite Lachine is their Village. I reach Lachine at 9 and breakfast at a Scotch Inn. I find most of the Inhabitants of Lachine, Scotch, Irish or English. there are two small French Villages between Montreal & Lachine. To reach Finlay's I turn back down the bank of the river abt 2 Miles, King's Stores, barracks &c form a little village called Lower Lachine. here I was most cordially received & agreed to stay to dinner, but threatening rain started me at ½ past 1. On the road along the water which commands a fine view of the Rapids, a Canadian peast overtook me with his trotting little horse in a small cart & politely invited me to mount. I did so, and standing up in this rough jolting machine, with a rope to hold myself up, I rode into town abt 6 miles, in a pelting rain. after changing my clothes receive a friendly call from Docr Paine,[97] who had call'd on me last night. He advises to commence painting at Montreal. so does Finlay. F. has 8 fine children & is fixed in a good office as Commissary with a good farm & handsome house. I had occasion to exercise my french to day & universally found the french inhabitants polite & friendly, if two peasants pass each other in their carts, they bow & lift their hats. as we rode past a cross, my friend notwithstanding the pelting storm reverentially lifted his hat. The crosses are very frequent, some carved with a cock & one at Lachine was ornamented with a cock at top, a little lower a scroll with INRI. The cross piece of the figure was surmounted with spikes, pincers, hammers, &c & below were other devices.

[97] Martyn Paine (1794-1877) removed to New York City in 1822, and became a leading physician there. Kelly and Burrage, *American Medical Biographies* (Baltimore, 1920).

No 439 Greenwich St N. Y. John Halsted gives information respecting Dr See's plaister for Rupture.

[Aug.] 16th A Rainy day. See Paine & make unsuccessfull efforts to obtain a room to paint in.

17th Augt There is a gloominess about this place which is very appalling. The narrow streets of grey stone houses with iron doors & windows shutters are forbidding in the extreme. The wet prevents me from <*seeing*> visiting the subburbs toward the mountain & the mountain & my walks are confined to the narrow side pavements, the bells of the Roman churches are almost incessantly ringing & are particularly annoying in the morning.

Augt 18th Friday. Walk through the subburbs and upon the rising ground under the brow of the hill. The[re] are several large houses along this slope with fine gardens & meadows & orchards, commanding a view of the town & river. I am introduced to several of the gentlemen of the place. Finlay sends an apology for not waiting on me. As Commissary at Lachine, from whence all the stores & men appertaining to the government are embarked or landed on account of the rapids, he is now sending on emigrants to upper Canada. These are Scotch peasants, Governt <*allows*> lends £10 to every individual of a family, transports them to the place of settlement after landing in Canada, gives them land [blank] acres pr hd & working tools. Notwithstanding all this I saw a sloop load of them going to Whitehall. I presume such as had some property & sought independance as well as land. Engage a painting room & board at the Mansion House, a splendid Hotel, but cannot take possession until Monday 21st.

Augt 19th Saturday. Having now had some cloths strained, I am to day to prepare my colours at Doctor Payne's, who appears a sensible amiable man & interests himself in my affairs. Walk on the bank of the river.

Montreal from the water, when near, makes a poor appearance. The front Street has a dirty ditch of a brook running through it with bridges over it. the next Street is St Pauls (all are Saints) & it is the principal Street of business, winding in a crooked line with the river, narrow & gloomy. the next, called the upper town, is Notre Dame, it is more airy, better built, & has the Court house, Jail, and 2 Churches in it. small streets cross between these & beyond them are the suberbs, containing more inhabitants than the Town. Evening remove to the Manion house. Meet there Mr Dan: McCormick. Finlay called on me to day & introduced some gentlemen:

Sunday Aug^{t} 20th Walk with Dr Paine round the Mountain by the north & over a part of it; my friend botanizing & I enjoying the new & beautifull scenery. The whole Island of Montreal is a plain except this hill & it is all capable of the highest cultivation—a great part is so, and farms, orchards, villages & spires appear in every direction. We took Shrub & water & Cakes & bread, at a Canadian (e.i. a french) small public house, & were served by a neat polite & pretty Landlady. About 4, on our return we called on Mr Barrett, the Doctor wishing to leave his Specimens, and Mr & Mrs B: detained us to dinner. Mr Cunningham, bookseller & Librarian, present: after a pleasant afternoon return to the Mansion House to tea. Find my former travelling Companions, Moore, Grey &c returned from Quebec.

Monday [Aug.] 21st The above gentlemen & Mr McCormick depart. Not being yet put in possession of my painting room I go to the mountain & Sketch. Returning meet numbers of Scotch Highland Emigrants on the road to Lachine from whence Finlay, as Commissary forwards them to Upper Canada. The hard favoured dirty scotch women and children looked wo: begone on the jolting Canadian one-horse Carts, the men were generally on foot. Write to my Wife.

Tuesday Aug^{t} 22^{d} The weather remarkably fine. Walk through the Market & buy 10 Canada plumbs for a copper. This fruit is not known in y^{e} City of N. Y. prepare to paint. Mr S. Barrett whose portrait I was to have begun not coming I begun a picture of George 4th from the engraving of [Thomas] Phillips's picture of him. Make an acquaintance with an intelligent Scotch gentleman, Mr Wm Thomson, who is well acquainted with pictures & painters.

Wed^{y} [Aug.] 23^{d} Col^{l} Bouchet, Surveyor General of the Canada's, introduces himself to me & invites me urgently to Quebec. He says he will take the King's picture. He has published magnificent maps &c of Canada by which he says he has sunk £1700. He is the Nephew & successor to Major [Samuel] Holland, whom I remember in 1774-5 at Amboy & whose son Jack, my playmate, was too wild to succeed his father, but is now established at Prince Edwards Island. Mr Cunningham invites me to the freedom of his Library & reading rooms. Begin Mr Barrett's portrait.

Thursday 24th Aug^{t} Write to my Wife by Mr G. Howland. I have several visitors both to day & yesterday. Paint on y^{e} King & Mr Barrett. Go with Mr Biggelow at his request (& the lady's) to see Miss Smith, a young woman of merit, who has taken charge of a large school of females, is patronized by the Canadians & priests & has turn'd Roman Catholic. She wished to see me & show her attempts at painting which are clever copies of poor pictures. A Mrs De L'auberney & her daughter were present at the meeting, they are of the first & richest of the French Canadian Citizens and are vulgar gentlefolks. am to visit them & see pictures. Mr Thomson leaves a journal in manuscript of a journey to France & Holland in 1818 with sketches, very neat & good, & observations on pictures—all doing him much honour.

Friday Aug^{t} 25th At Cunninghams reading room before breakfast. Paint as usual until ½ past 4. we dine at 5

or ½ past every day. Walk with Thomson, who has the Scotch prejudices in perfection & places unhesitatingly all other people & particularly English far below Scotchmen, and that in serious conversation.

Trimbee, an englishman at our house who has come from N. Y. says "at Montreal he begins to find civilization."

Saturday 26th At Reads Room. Paint all day. Heavy rains. The sketch opposite is from the back of the Mansion House Hotel, which overlooks the St Laurence. Grants, or St Helens Island a little down the river.

Mr Thomson communicates a memorandum of the cost of the Elgin casts, which I copy

Large Trunk Unknown	£ 4. 4.–
2 Small Trunks, Bas relief, Temple of Victory	–. 5.–
2 Arms d° from Frieze	–. 5.–
3 Horses heads from D°	–. 7.6
Part of large trunks supposed to be Jupiter	3. 3.–
Fragment of head	–. 5.–
Female arm from one of the large groupes	10.–
Bas relief of male Trunk from frieze	–. 7.–
Arm of Metops	–. 3.–
3 small fragments	–. 3.–
Bas relief	–. 5.–
4 Bas reliefs of Frieze @ £2.10	10. –.–
High relief figure fighting wth Centaur	7. 7.–
Large female arm	–.10.–
Mask of Bach[hus]	–. 5.–
4 fragments from high relief Metops	1.10.–
Large female arm	–.10.–
3 Large Bas relief friezes of Horsemen	12.12.–
Young Theseus from high relief	2.12.6
Leg of Metops	–. 7.–
Bas relief of Frieze	1.10.–
High relief of Centaur	7. 7.–
Fragment of Metops	–. 7.–
Bas relief of Horses head	–. 7.–
2 Small Bas reliefs from Temple of Victory	1. 4.–
Large arm, supposed to be Neptune	–.12.–
Large figure of Neptune	10.10.–
Dead figure from high relief	2.12.6
Large piece of Breasts from Female groupe	2. 2.–

Theseus	10.10.–
Horses head large	3. 3.–
	£85.15.6
Packing Cases for the above cost	30. –.–

Say 382 dollars for casts
189 for packing cases
571

Sunday Aug^{t} 27th 1820. Walk along the bank of the river past the shipping & steam boats &c. All is rude & dirty. Four or five Ships & Brigs & ten smaller vessels would be the utmost amount of the apparent navigation of Montreal, exclusive of Steam boats. The parade of a few companies of the 37th seems to be the only public amusement of Montreal. Go to the English Church, a neat handsome building with an excellent organ well play'd—a thin audience to a pretty good preacher. It is long since [I last heard] his Majesty George &c prayed for. Surely there are parts of the service which ought to be expunged, & 5th repetition of the Lord's prayer might be omitted if not two more. Walk—sketch on the next leaf [of a grove of birches]. The steeple is the French church by the Mansion house, to the left the reservoir on Citadel Hill, to the right the Flag Staff on the Champs de Mars, next to it the prison & next the Court house,—distance Chamble mount^{n}.

Monday Aug^{t} 28th Walk & begin a sketch of Montreal on the side of the river, paint as before. receive a letter from my Wife.

Tuesday. Employed as yesterday. Mr & Mrs Barrett call'd in the Evening & I went home w^{h} them to tea. The Earl of Dalhousie has return'd from Upper Canada & is at the Mansion house Hotel.

Wed^{y} Aug^{t} 30th Work as yesterday. Doctor Paine tells me that Mr Hedge has determined to have his fathers picture painted. Thomson speaks in raptures of Paul

Potter's picture of the Young Bull—it is exquisitely finish'd & natural.

Thursday Aug^{t} 31st Write & send letter to my Wife. My portrait of Mr Barrett strikes with admiration. Mr Proctor, an Englishman long resident in America, expressed unqualified admiration & my friend Paine is almost in raptures. I yesterday addressed the following short letter to the Governor.

"His Excellency
Lieu^{t} General The Earl of Dalhousie K.C.B. &c &c &c
An American Artist, encouraged by the accidental circumstance of having his Painting Room under the same roof with your Lordship, solicits your attention to a few specimens of his art, at any moment when your Lordship may have leisure.

W Dunlap
No 16 Mansion house Hotel."

I have this morning received a verbal answer from his Excellency by Lord Kerr, that he had received my letter, and would visit my room, between 4 & 5 this afternoon.

Visited accordingly by his Excellency & Lord Kerr one of his Aids. Lord Dalhousie, is a plain gentlemanly soldier. he spoke of himself as a stranger in this country as well as myself, and after some pleasant chat said he should be glad to see me at Quebec & I must call upon him. I assured him I would, but, he added "I shall not be there until the end of the month." He did not think my prospects very flattering in Canada. speaking of the King, he said he was enormously fat, very much changed, one of the biggest men &c" upon the whole I have reason to be pleased with the Earl's visit tho' I do not see that any advantage will accrue to me from it. Mr McCormick returns here to day & with him Mr Le Roy & Son & daughter & Son's wife. My new acquaintance Thomson is a fine specimen of the Scotch character. He is of the "Commissariat" in which he tells me is now included the pay Department within 5 years, and the Commissaries act as such and as paymasters, having charge of the Mila-

tary Chests. He is a determined Batchelor & has formed a plan of life altogether centered in, if not confined to self. He intends remaining in service until he attains a rank, the half pay of which is sufficient for his wants and then he is to retire on half pay. He is sober, regular, methodical, calculating, has an instinctive bowing awe for all in power, a civil ingratiating manner for gentlemen & ladies, though by no means that easy behaviour which thorough education or feeling produces, but for the poor & dependant he is rough, coarse, indelicate in manner & word & does not even disguise his thorough contempt & real unfeeling selfishness. This is harsh drawing, not from any unfriendly feeling on my part. he is towards me assiduously polite in *his* way & strives to impress me with a good opinion of himself. Why? I cannot answer, unless it be that [he] really respects, or is pleased with certain propensities & attainments in me, which he has or wishes for himself. He has some knowledge of music & painting, had read a little & cultivates a taste for the liberal arts. I borrow of him [Henry] McKenzies "Man of feeling" (for he has a small collection of books) & now sit down w^{h} a candle to read.

Friday Sept^{r} 1st The Gov^{r} departs amidst Drums Trumpets & peals of Cannon. Mr Moffatt engages me to copy a picture 31 by 25. Mr Colt visits me & is introduced by Dr Paine. Mr Cunningham calls & advises me to begin a second picture of the King. I do so. Even^{g} a pleasant game at Whist with Mess^{rs} Proctor, Bowyer (a young Frenchman) & Bulow of South Carolina. Watches are sent from Geneva to U. S. & sold at 2 & ½ dollars and yield 5 per cent profit.

Sat^{y} 2^{d} Sept^{r} Cool morning. walk & sketch. Visited by McCormick & the Le Roy's male & female. Mr McGilvery visited & was introduced to me. He says he has some good portraits & I have accepted his invitation to breakfast on monday. Go with Dr Paine & a large party to the Hospital of the Black Nuns. There is a very clever

little picture in the Apothecary's Hall, of the persons of the Trinity crowning the Virgin. The pictures in the Chaple are abominable. They shew there a curious specimen of Goblin Tapestry from a picture of y^e^ Nativity. They have about 40 patients attended by these religious females. Two young Ladies who had not yet taken the black veil, were handsome, one of them of a most beautiful complexion. Work-Baskets, pincushions & other toys were exhibited for sale & the purchases rewarded in some measure the charitable sisters for the trouble we gave them. Mr McGilvary was introduced to me & I have promised to breakfast with him on Monday morning. Mess^rs^ Bulow & Lance & the Ladies of y^e^ party go to Quebec.

Sunday 3^d^ Sept^r^ Three weeks in Montreal. Not well, walk. Write to my Wife. A young [man] enter'd into conversation with [me] at breakfast whom I found to be very intelligent. His name Skene son to the former owner of Skenesborough, now White Hall, he was born in England & is in the English Army. He is well inform[ed] as to pictures &c & appears full of observation. My friend Paine prescribes 8 grains of Calomel & 24 of Rhubard for me, if this Diaroeha continues—after, if necessary, Lodanum in very small doses.

Monday Sept^r^ 4^th^ Walk to Mr McGilvary's. He has a good house & elegant Garden situated on rising ground and commanding a superb view of the River & intervening rich level. He has a fine head of himself by Stewart, very fine, which he finds fault with because the coat &c are slighted. He has a portrait of his brother by Martin Archer Shee much inferiour to Stewarts but it is admired for the Highland Military dress, a vile figure of an Angel black & ill drawn, is very fine & very old, & a St Cecilia & Angels well coloured but badly drawn probably a poor copy of a better picture, is supposed original & almost invaluable. He has employed me to expunge a figure from a groupe and paint another in its place.—

it is his portrait full length. A lady with an infant & two dogs form the groupe. I have a number of visitors after my return, among them Miss Smith, Madame de Lavaunire & Mr Roland, the latter wishes his fathers portrait. Miss Smith engages me to tea tomorrow. A Mr Gibbs invites me to see *his house*. Send off a letter to my Wife by Mr McCormick.

Tuesday Sept^{r} 5th 1820. Very warm weather this two days. Paint on my two pictures of George 4th. Drink tea with Miss Smith: Her friend Madame De Lauverniere with her, the Scotch French Canadian Lady born in Schenectady. a very warm night.

[Sept.] 6th Wed^{y} Very warm. Walk. My friends Barrett & wife and Cunningham come hither (to the Mansion house) to board, B: having broken up House keeping. Making an arrangement for another painting room. Rec^{d} a letter from my wife dated 30th Aug^{t}. Mr Griffin a young gentleman introduced to me by Mr Cunningham calls & engages his miniature. Mr Gerard [98] of the house of Richardson Forsyth & Co. calls & talks of a picture. Paint on the King. Walk over fields out of town & return thro' the [blank] suburb just at dusk. A long closely built street of French houses with such casements or windows as we see in the flemish pictures, with the swarming population of peasants presented a scene totally unlike America.

Thursday Sept^{r} 7th Walk. Begin Mr Griffins miniature & the Copy for Mr Moffatt. Mr McGillvray called. I show'd him a sketch & he is to send in the picture. Yesterday the N. W. Co.'s Voyageurs arrived & they add to our motley population. they are Canadian peasants with the additional wildness of half sailor, half savage. Many are quite Indian & all look quite as dark.

[98] Samuel Gerrard.

Friday 8th Septr Walk to McTavish's [99] house & a little up the Mountain behind. This gentleman died & left his house & plans for a superb establishment on the side of the hill unfinished. The view is beautifull beyond my powers of description, few terms which may be applied to the finest scenery but are appropriate to this. Paint on Mr Griffin. The heat very oppressive. Paint on the King's 2d picture. M: [blank] French Consul at Charleston & self have an animated conversation. Evenr extremely warm.

Satr 9th Take my walk to the Race Course about a mile from Town or 2 miles from my quarters. Paint on Mr Griffin. Weather pleasant, but warm. Paint on Copy for Mr Moffatt. Afternoon & Evening extremely warm. Ther: for some days from 82 to 94.

Sunday 10th Septr 1820. Mornrs very pleasant. Mr Proctor sends to invite me to walk but am engage[d] to Thomson & Barrett to visit Grants Island or St Helens, Proctor joins the plan. This Island, St Helens, is called Grant's, from having been owned by a person of that name. it is abt ¾ of a mile long, contains 100 acres, and the English Government have bought it by bartering for it, several Lots and Houses in Montreal. they are erected public edifices & intend quartering their troops there. Messrs Barrett, Thomson, Bowyer, Proctor, George Proctor & self took a Batteau and cross'd to St Helen's. visited the house & gardens formerly Grants, and encircled the Island. the center is a rocky Hill cleft by a ravine. on the north end the English have stores, & Barracks. no troops on the Island at present. crossed to Montreal Island below the town & walk'd up. During our absence Genl [Jacob] Brown & Suite & a many other Yankees arrive.

[99] Simon McTavish (1750-1804), one of the organizers of the North West Company.

Monday 11th Sep: Write to my Wife. Preparing to move. Introduced to Captn Bing [100] of ye R Navy. Read at Cunningham's. Extremely warm. Evs rain.

Tuesday [Sept.] 12th Rain. Leave Martinant's Mansn Hotel & breakfast at Annesly's. Bouchet returns and as I judge will not take the King's picture. At Mr Annesley's (who is a frame maker & picture & Looks Glass dealer, and a Batchelor) I am to live & paint at $5 pr week. at Martinants it has cost me $13, both exclusive of Washing & extra's. Paint on Griffin. read at Cunningham's.

[Sept.] 13th Rain still. Clears in Afternoon. Paint on Griffin, on Moffatts friend & begin Revd Mr [John] Bethune the E: priest.

[Sept.] 14th Paint as yesterday. Lovely cool day. Walk with Thompson; talk of Naesmith, Wilkie, Allan, & Thompson the Engraver, Uncle to this gentleman. Evening at Barretts rooms. Mrs B: plays & sings, Thompson accompanies on Violin.

Septr 15th 1820, Friday. One of the great Market days at Montreal & the only day on which they have a fish market. Roman catholic influence in this. It is remarkable that at Montreal & Norfolk, the extremes of my travelling on this Continent, they have two similar customs not found to my knowledge elsewhere. They sweep their Chimneys by pulling a rope up & down with brush wood attached to it, & they bring their country produce in One horse Carts which are arrange[d] in order on the Market Square. Another lovely morning. Paint as yesterday.

Septr 16th Saturday. Paint as yesterday & on Barrett. After dinner walk with Annesley to McTavish's House & up the Hill to the Mausoleum & pillar erected to his memory by the McGillevray's. They are embosom'd in

[100] Hon. Henry Dilkes Byng.

Trees, surrounded by a paling, & the pillar on higher ground behind the Tomb. The whole is impressive. We mounted the Mountain clambering, & gained a very extensive view of Montreal the River & plain.

Sunday [Sept. 17] Having been unwell again for 3 days, I at last take the medicine Dr P left for me when he went away & confine myself to the house. Work on Griffins Min: & write to my Wife. Weather Cool.

Monday 18th Septr Unwell. Walk. Cool weather. Paint on Mr Bethune.

19th [Sept.] Tuesday. Cooler. Unwell. Walk. Work on Min: Mr [Harman] Blenerhassett call'd to see me. This Man made notorious by his connexion with Burr, is now here practicing Law for a living. He is a polite & apparently well informed man, appears at least 60 years old, and is very near sighted. Yesterday Mr McGillevray sent the picture & called on me. Mr Hare, D. Com: Gen. who was introduced to me by Finlay, call'd by McGilys request to talk over the alterations. Several visitors to day.

Wedy [Sept.] 20th Cold. Walk. Still unwell. I saw a little up the river an encampment of Indians, 8 or 9 Tents of the rudest kind, Birch-bark suspended over poles & a birch canoe near, or making part of each Tent. Dirty & squalid they appeared to pig together in their wretched, little, imperfect shelterings, hugging themselves in their blankets; a fire of sticks at the entrance of several of the Tents. I amuse myself with studying the prints in Ackerman's Repository. De Lampré & Berzy [101] are the painters who have preceded me here, the first has been to see me, he now declines painting portraits, & paints large Historical pictures for the R. C. Churches at 100 dollars a piece, the other who had some little merit as a painter is dead. There are two others here beneath notice. Went in the evening to See Mr Charles perform his slight of hand & hear his ventriloquism. Both very good.

[101] William von Moll Berczy.

Thursday morning. White frost. Fine day. Paint on Griffin. McKenzie (Moffatts) Bethune & McGillivray. Walk.

Friday 22^{d} Sept^{r} 1820. Very pleasant. Finish Griffin & receive 30 doll^{s} the first money I have rec^{d} since I left home. Paint on Bethune.

Sat^{y} 23^{d} Mild with high wind. Even^{g} & night rain. Paint on McGillivray.

Sunday 24th Clear & colder. I am still unwell. Work a little on McGillivray. Walk. Afternoon mild & very pleasant. Walk. Night rain.

Monday 25th Sept^{r} Windy. Write to my wife by Capt^{n} [John] Garland to whom I was introduced last even^{g} at the Mansion House H: He & his wife are going to Virginia and have come from Green-Bay, an U. S. Garrison ab^{t} 200 miles beyond Michilimackinack. Paint on Bethune & McKenzie. some visitors. Afternoon quite cold. Walk. Evening reading by the fire. See & eat a poor peach, the only one I have seen. they can be raised as wall-fruit, but are not for sale. Grapes are plenty & good and apples abound of the finest. The delicate plover are brought to Market in great quantities. They come up y^{e} River in flocks. Pheasants are brought to market. The partridge (Quail of N. Y.) is unknown here.

Tuesday 26th Sept^{r} Frosty morning but very fine. Receive letter from my wife. Morning wasted in waiting upon Mr McGillivray, who came too late to sit & appointed tomorrow. Afternoon walk. See strawberry vines in blossom. There are no Robbins, no meadow Larks & no partridges in the fields or woods here. I have mentioned the similar customs of Norfolk & this place as to Chimney sweeping & attending Market, there are other customs common to the two & not found elsewhere to the best of my knowledge. Supplying the inhabitants

with water by carting it in casks, here from the river, at N. from a pump as formerly in N. Y. from the tea-water-pump. Young men going out to shoot on Sunday. But how different are the two places in many respects. The cold close cautious inhospitable manners of the motley & jarring population contrasts strongly with the free open warm hospitable virginians, as the solid prisonlike hybernacle stone houses <*with*> their deep retiring windows & doors with Iron shutters with the light open summer habitations of the children of the south. But then here is no slave population! O what a paradise would Virginia be, if it had instead of its slaves the hardy ignorant french peasants of Canada, if it had the intelligent population of the middle or Eastern States of America it would be still more blessed.

Wed^{y} 27th Sept^{r} Walk. Summer morning. Paint on Bethune & Barrett. McGillivray has his first sitting. Afternoon parade of the troops.

Thursday 28th Sept^{r} Up at 4 OClock & took some Tea. At 5 thro' a thick fog ride down to Long point & stop at [William S.] Leney's. Mr Annesley & myself took shooting equipments & it clearing up (with Mr Leney) we went in search of plover over the plowed Lands up from the River. We saw a few & got one. They are the same Bird that is found on Long Island. After dinner we went in a Canoe to Busherville's Islands some miles down the river. We there found more of these Birds, shot a few Ducks & Geese & return'd to Leney's about sun-sett. Leney has given up engraving and turn'd farmer. He has purchased 400 acres of Land at Long Point 4 & ½ miles from Montreal, the situation delightfull & the soil good. Montreal up the river, w^{h} Grants or St Helen's Island, down the river Boucherville & *Point aux Tremble,* with Islands, Farm houses & a fine country over the river, make a rich Landscape terminated by the Mountains of Chamblé.

Friday [Sept.] 29th Walk. A fine morning. Paint on McGillivray & Bethune.

Satv [Sept.] 30th The weather resembles our Indian-Summer. Walk on the very pleasant ridge of the Hill which forms the 3d step from the River, the 1st is the bank or level of St Paul's Street, 2d, level of Notre Dame, then come the beautiful intervale land of meadows, gardens & Orchards crossed by the streets of the Suburb Saint Lawrence & you ascend the third level or step on which is Sherbrook Street, which looks down on the Town & appears as if at some period it had been the bank of the river. the 4th 5th & 6th steps take you to the top of the mountain. Paint on McGillivray. Afternoon walk.

Sunday Octr 1st 1820. A fine clear morning. Go on board 2 of the Steam Boats for Quebec. I wish much to go thither before my return & good health and good weather next Saturday will perhaps tempt me. At 1 OClock Thomson & self cross'd to La Prairie in the Steam Boat, stemming the rapid current in a curious and pleasing manner. We were 2 hours going the 9 miles. We walk'd round the Village & enter'd the Church, where the kind of miserable pictures & Images, with tawdry decorations disgust the sight as in Montreal. We then walked down the river to Longueuile, a very pleasant walk, fine road, substantial farm houses in uninterrupted succession, and rich farms extending in lines back from the river, over a perfect level. After a walk of 10 miles we sought food & refreshment at a tavern in the Village. They agreed to give us, having nothing else, some bread, eggs & brandy. The brandy came first in dirty tumblers & proved to be miserable rum. The Landlady brought in six eggs in a soup plate and one large pewter spoon, she then went out & brought in a part of a loaf of sour brown bread grasped in one hand and a saucer with some salt in the other, and with the spoon she ground the salt from coarse to fine in the saucer. This was our dinner & apparatus, no plates, no knives, 6 eggs to be eat as we

could with one large spoon. This amused me much, and with great difficulty we got two knives & another saucer, tea-spoons were not to be had. We soon dispatched the eggs, and went off to the Horse boat which plies between this place & the Cross, 2 miles below Montreal. The crossing was very pleasant, and after a walk to my quarters, my Tea, bread butter & cheese were very acceptable. I found and brought home some Mushrooms. The Haws are really a pleasant fruit in this country and to day we found a fruit in appearance like a small apple, but sweet & totally unlike the crab apple. It must be noted that this Canadian Tavern, so utterly devoid of comfort was not a Hovel, but a decent looking House, with large sign, several apartments, pictures of Saints, virgins & abundance of crucifixes, and immediately in front of the Village Church.

Monday Oct^{r} 2^{d}. A Summer day. I yesterday saw a procession come out of Notre Dame Church. First the Beadle in his Livery coat then 3 Boys bare headed with white Linen over their shoulders & black gowns under, the center boy carried the Crucifix of silver & the others, each a candle, next came 8 boys 2 & 2 dress'd as the first but with black caps on night cap shaped, & last 8 or 10 Priests, with the same kind of caps. Paint on McGillivray & my 2 Kings pictures. Place the first at Cunningham's reading room for sale.

Tuesday Oct^{r} 3^{d} Summer like morning. Walk on the Ridge or Sherbrooke Street. These 3 or 4 days past the trees have put on their variegated coats. Paint on McKenzie & King. Miss Smith & Mad^{m} De L'Aubigne w^{h} me, the first to see me paint. Walk with Thomson.

Wed^{y} [Oct.] 4th Quite warm. Indian Summer. Walk up the river. Paint on McGillivray. Afternoon Misty Rain from S. E.

Thursday 5th Rainy day: quite warm. Paint on McGillivray & McKenzie.

Friday 6th It clears mild. Paint as before.

Satʸ 7th Octʳ 1820. Clear and slight frost. Finish McGillivray & McKenzie. The first brings his sisters, daughter & friends to judge the picture & the verdict is favourable. Pack up. Evenᵍ call on Dr Paine & with him pass the evening with the Barrett's.

Sunday Octʳ 8th Fine clear frosty morning, prepare for a walk to Lachine to Finlay's, as I hope to embark for Quebec tomorrow or to-night. I walked to Lachine by the River & enjoy'd much pleasure from the Scenery. Finlay out, his Lady after confinement pretty well. stay ½ an hour & walk back, making a walk of 17 or 18 miles at least. take dinner at Colˡ Fleets who now keeps a Chop-house.

Monday [Oct.] 9th Wind S. E. a little rain. Recᵈ from Mr Moffatt an order for 50 dollars and left it with Mr Annesley. Embark at 9 in yᵉ Telegraph for Quebec. Lower Canada is betwⁿ 45 & 52 N. L. and 63 & 81 W. Longitude. Discover'd by J Cartier in 1534 in 1759 it becomes permanently Englands. population 1815 335,000 of whom 275,000 are Can[adians] to whom their laws religion &c were secured. it is govern'd by Governor, Executive Councill & Legislative Council appointed by the King & has a third house elected by the Freeholders. The Govʳ may prorogue or dissolve at pleasure and the King may annul any Law within 2 years. They are notwithstanding in their present state actually free & free from taxes, except those flowing from the necessity of buying all manufactures from England. England must indulge them in every point for fear of the U. S. Canada owes its freedom to us and our Revolution. Some one told an Irishman that he <*was much more free in*> had more liberty here than in his own Country. "Liberty" says Pat "Liberty! when I'm six months in the year up to my knees in Snow." After dinner we land at Berthier, a pretty village, wooden houses, a fine Island opposite to it used as a grazing place for the cattle of the village. Women paddling

over in canoes to milk the cows. Head wind & we anchor in Lake St Peters.

Tuesday Morning [Oct.] 10th Cold cloudy morning and going down Lake St. Peters with a head wind, at 7 OClock we are abt 70 miles on our way, (out of 180). Lake St Peters is 25 miles long & 9 wide. At a ¼ past 9 we arrive at the Town of Three Rivers at the mouth of the river St Maurice. Bouchet states this to be the third in rank in Lower Canada. Its appearance is poor & not larger than La Prairie. We stop here an hour. In the afternoon we come to Anchor in Storm & Rain, and tossing with a river-sea.

Wedy [Oct.] 11th The Storm continues & we remain at anchor until after 4 OClock in the afternoon. The scenery then becomes very fine as gilded by an evening Sun. We arrive at Quebec about Ten OClock and sleep another Night on board The Morning of Thursday I go on shore.

[Thursday, Oct. 12] The Coup d'oeil of Quebec even from the boat at the Wharf is striking. after depositing my baggage at the Union Hotel, I walk over a part of the rugged town, through two of the Gates or passages which pass through the fortifications and enjoy a wild prospect from various points. After breakfast call on Bouchet. I found him in his office & he looked as if he saw in me one risen from the Dead: He soon recover'd and was very glad to see me & after being seated enquired if I had finished the Kings picture. I answered "Yes, and I have brought it with me and expected it to pay my expences from Montreal & and back again." "That will be $40 at least" said he. "Yes, but if you take the picture you shall have it for $30, cash if not I shall try to Raffle it off for $50. He said he must have it, and then began the old story of his losing 1700 guineas by his Maps concluding by offerring me in lieu of cash, an order on James Thomson of N. Y. for $16 due for a set of Maps, and two setts of Maps complete, value 7 Guineas each.

I accepted his offer and was introduced to his Lady and four sons who were so fully employed in putting a squirrel into a cage that they could scarce attend to me. All was truly French. They had half finishe'd Breakfast when the New Cage came home & all was left in disorder. B. Demanded why he was not called to Breakfast, the Lady cried, "Bun, Bun, pretty Bun," I was invited by him to sit down & take Tea. "Adelaide I am astonished at you." The Lady sat down to Table pouting & frowning. I paid my prettiest attentions to her and smiles were restored. M: Charles had given her the squirrel. he was a charming man, &c &c. Arrangements were made for one of the young men to attend me to the plains of Abraham and show me the Lions of Quebec. On the plains of Abraham and in the prospect of Wolfes Cove I enjoy'd feelings from recollections & Associations truly enviable. On returnᵍ we visited the principal Fr[ench] Church. A picture of the Annunciation is worth notice. From various points of the Fortifications the views are beautiful and some, sublime. In the afternoon I went again to Bouchet get the order on T and the Maps, having delivered the picture to his servant. He wrote the order but could only give me one complete sett of Maps and one imperfect sett. 10 sheets making the great Map of Lower Canada, the general or two sheets including both Canada's on a smaller scale, and the volume of Topographical description, making one complete sett, valued by him at 7 Gˢ and the same sett of the Large Map (10 sheets) and the book. He added 3 maps of the District of Gaspé. On returning to my Lodgings I found that the order was not addressed to any person. I went back. Bouchet had gone out. I was ushered up stairs and found Madame in great trouble. The squirrel had been let out of the Cage to play, and would not return but took refuge in the Window Curtain & was gnawing it to pieces, the servants were called to catch Bun, who flew from one piece of furniture to another she crying "Bun Bun pretty Bun" when he was at a distance & shrieking when he approached. this farce continued an hour with intervals of a few words to me.

Bouchet return'd, finished the order and I, declining their invitations to Tea, took my departure. The behaviour and language of this family are amusing, a mixture of French & English in both, and full of the English affectation of interlarding every thing that is said w^h^ "You know" and "Do you know."

I had an opportunity before Dinner to go through the Lower Town & St Roque's suberb. Nothing can be finer than the effect of the rock and Ramparts of Cape Diamond lowering over the Houses & ships below. St Roques suberb is the filthiest miserable place I ever beheld, but the frowning battlements even here repaid me for wading thro' the filth below them. The upper Town is one complete Fortress, encircled by Walls, ditches, towers Battlements, *herissé* with Cannon, and only accessible from the Lower Town and Suberbs, through arched gateways threaten'd by towers & guns. It is altogether a wonderful place and so unlike any thing in America that I can scarcely imagine myself on my Native Continent.

Friday Oct^r^ 13^th^ At 6 OClock, I began a Walk to the Falls of Montmorency, distant 9 miles from Quebec, by Dorchester Bridge ove[r] the River St Charles. After passing the bridge and over a low plain, I ascended for miles passing through the long irregular village of Beauport. At a Canadian Inn, I got some bread which I could not eat, some Tea & Eggs & then proceed to view the Falls and adjacent scenery and to make sketches for my portfolio. This falls are said to be 200 feet high or more & the river being very full I saw them to advantage. The scenery in various directions is picturesque & truly grand. In one of my sketches I have the brow of the Fall & over it the aqueduct lead^s^ to the Great Saw Mills on the West side, with Points Levi and Quebec in the distance. I resumed my walk, turning to Quebec & reached my lodgings before 3 OClock after a ramble of 18 or 20 miles.

Saturd^y^ [Oct.] 14^th^ Before open daylight I embarked on board the Steam Boat Quebec for Montreal and about ½ past six we under steam & sail. I sketched the views

of the Town as we passed up the river which are in this book. I yesterday saw a Canadian country Funeral. Four men bearing the corpse the coffin cover'd by a coarse sheet, 10 or 12 others attending in disorder & all talking, laughing & shouting through the Village of Beauport. One man follow'd some yards behind, with a handkerchief to his face, he was unnoticed, and the only mourner

The fine weather to day and the ample accommodations of this Quebec recompense me for the sufferrings on board the Telegraph in going down the River. All is to day cheerful & the banks of y^e^ River have almost a summer aspect. A Band of Music composed of the Waiters contribute to the cheering effect. In the afternoon the wind changes and rain follows for the night.

Sunday 15 Oct^r^ Lake St Peters. Here we anchored for the night and now proceed with fair wind & cloudy sky. Travellers on this river are principally from the U. S. or Europe. Going down we had 1 American (for so we of y^e^ U. S. are designated when not called Yankee) 3 Scotchmen & one Canadian priest. Now we are 2 Americans, 2 Scotsmen, 2 Irishmen & three American Canadians (as I suppose) one of them is Chrysler on whose Farm [102] the battle was fought in 1813 which stopt Wilkinson. Upper Canada is fast settling with Scotch and Americans, the latter in greatest proportion and (I speak from hearsay, the conversation of those who envy & hate them) thriving in every undertaking so as to promise ultimately to make the whole country American.

			miles
Distance from	N. Y.	to Alb[any]	160
	Alb:	to Whitehall	74
	Wh:	to St Johns	150
	St J	Mont^t^	27
	M^l^	Quebec	180
	Q.	Montm^r^	9
			600

[102] Chrystler's Farm, near the head of the Long Sault Rapids, on the St. Lawrence River, where American troops were defeated November 11, 1813. C. P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812* (Oxford, 1906).

Off Wm Henry at 12 OClock that is, 46 miles from Montreal. rainy Ev^{g} 6 OClock clears is W. N. E. The Saw Mills at Montmorency employs 80 labourers, cost about £60,000 St^{g} At Three Rivers is a Fall of the River St Maurice at which are great Iron works. The owner Ball is on board. it is a great establishment for Cast Iron ware, &c. Arrive at 8 OClock at Montreal but for darkness, & Storm cannot Land.

Monday morn^{g} [Oct.] 16th Still rain or thick Mist. At Montreal. Go to Annesley's. McGillivray refuses to pay $120, tells Annesley in a note that my demand is founded on his not making a bargain. Write a note addressed to Annesley rebutting the charge & asserting the fact that $150 would have been my price, to which if he had not agreed I should have [been] at home two weeks ago. Call on Cunningham he has not disposed of the picture of the King, takes my directions to do it at any price & remit me the money before 1st Nov^{r}. Receive from Barrett $15. Annesley again calls on McGillivray & he refuses to pay more that $100. Prepare to depart and go down to the Boat for La Prairie, leaving the boys w^{h} the handbarrow laden to follow. Annesley with me. Annesley turns back for my Great Coat. I proceed and go on board the Boat. Wait in vain for my baggage. Jump on shore as the Boat pushes off. Messrs Colt & Ogden advise me to look for my baggage on board the Quebec & other Steam boats. I do so, in vain, return to Annesleys & find that he seeing the Steam boat go off & supposing me with her, took my baggage to the New Market & embark'd with it in a canoe to overtake me at La Prairie. Thus he will have a long journey in pursuit of me while I am by his fire-side. Ab^{t} 8 OClock Annesley return'd; He having seen me on board supposed that I had gone on, & stopping the baggage took a small boat below, while I was seeking him above, crossed to Longueile, got a carriage & arrived a[t] La Prairie before the Steam Boat, not finding me he left my baggage, rode to Longueile & cross'd again in pursuit of me.

Tuesday 17th Octr A fine frosty morning. Write to McGillivray in a manner that if it does not produce my money will at least make him feel his inferiority. Shew the letter to Dr Paine. Go to La Prairie to look to my baggage. We are two or three minutes on the Rocks. See for the first time one of the N. W. Indian Bark Canoes man'd by 18 or 20 Voyageurs 9 or 10 on each side. With each a paddle or short oar all keeping time to their Choral Song. All the oarsmen or paddlers dress'd in dark blue with round black hats and a steersman with a paddle, dress'd in figured Chints or Calico. All looking like Savages. See for the first time the sabot or wooden shoe on the peasants of La Prairie they are used as our goloshoe. At ½ past 2 we go to Fleet for a dinner and then to Annesley. Evening with Dr Paine at Mr Barrett's.

Wedy 18th Octr 1820. Frosty morning. I have before mentioned the New plan of Ship-building invented by Mr Annesley's father [William Annesley]. I have this morning heard read a letter from him to his wife dated Augt 18th last, in which he states that he has proved his theory by 20 vessels, from a Wherry to a ship of 360 tons, & that now, at Hull a ship is building of upwards of 700 tons burthen, after the completion of which he will publish a pamphlet with engravings, now preparing, and then sell his patent, for England, & return to his Wife & family in America. The letter is a plain, sensible, excellent letter from a Husband who had been long seperated from his family & struggling for a great object against, power prejudice and the interest of many individuals. At Cunninghams at Paines. Go to see some miserable paintings sent from France to sell to the Churches here. Go to see De Lampré who is painting from prints for the Churches. Afternoon Annesley tells me that McGillivray has sent for his picture & tells him to call next week for the $120. Ride with Annesley. afterwards take a walk and see a Crayon picture said to be done by Copley 50 years ago, the head of a lady beautifully painted with great breadth & simplicity.

Paint at Montreal		
Mr Barrett	25 pd	
Mr Griffin	30 pd	
Mr Bethune	30 pd	
Mr McKenzie	50 pd	
Mr McGillivray	120	
Prince Regent	for [which] I rec^{d} Maps	
	inst^{d} of money promised	
D° D°	sold for 50 by Mr Cunningham	

Expences of Journey to Canada Bro^{t} forward	196.7½
voyage to Quebec	10...
At Quebec	4...
Steam boat Quebec	12...
D°	2.50
Mr. Annesley	15...
and an order on Cunningham for $22.25 from the proceeds of the Kings picture	
Oct^{r} 17th Expences to La Prairie &c.....	1.25
18th pd. printers	3.25

Thursday 19th Oct^{r} A Mild morning. Take what a hope will be my last *Walk o' the morning* in Montreal at present. Leave Mont^{l} at 10. At 12 arrive at La Prairie. At 5 arrive at St Johns on the Richlieu or Sorrell or Chamblee whose mouth I pass'd a few days since. Capt^{n} Bing of the R Navy who commands at Isle au Noix in company. Some interesting conversation with him respecting the affair in Chesapeake Bay last War. I am favoured with a summer like day for this part of my return Journey. We are to sleep at Johns and embark after breakfast.

Friday Oct^{r} 20th A fine morning with white frost. Embark at 8 OClock and enjoy a summer voyage on the Lake. Mr Garden a Scotch gentleman of Montreal contributed to my pleasure by his conversation. Mr Bowyer from the Mansion House is with me. The sunsetting in the broad part of the Lake was almost as fine as I saw it in August, both were truly beautiful & sublime.

Saturday Oct^{r} 21st We arrive at 6 OClock at Whitehall the morning foggy & promising another summer day. I landed at Burlington last evening & saw part of the town by the light of a clear full moon. We had previously stopt at Plattsburg but I did not go on shore. All the scenery from Plattsburg to the time of sunsetting when we were approaching Burlington was truly superb, the clouds of the most varied brilliant & soft tints and the Mountains partaking of every hue of the pallette, while the nearer points, Islands & headlands shone in the vivid colours of an American Autumn. We leave Whitehall & ride over hills with bold scenery in every direction by the same road which I pass'd in the Fall of 1816. Arrive at Albany ¼ past Eleven.

Sunday Oct^{r} 22^{d} Obliged to stay at Albany. Chancelor Kent has just gone to N. Y. Walk around the Town. It is perfect summer. Afternoon walk with Boyer.

Monday [Oct.] 23^{d} Prepare to embark. A fine morning. Meet C[harles] Rhind on board y^{e} Paragon. Sit up to see the passage of the Hudson through the Highlands and by that means see the Towns of Poughkeepsy & Newburgh.

Tuesday [Oct.] 24 Arrive at N. Y. and am struck by the contrast between the beauty & richness of the City Harbour & shipping and the appearance of the cities of the North. Find my family well.

Leave New York on Tuesday the 14th of Nov^{r} [1820] with my Wife for Norfolk. Leave my son & daughter to keep house in Leonard Street. We arrive same evening at Phil^{a} & took up our abode with Mr Charles Chauncey. Go on to Baltimore the 19th and stay at Barnums Hotel until 20th.

Our abode w^{h} Mr Charles Chauncey & his amiable family, his Wife [103] & her sister Miss [Charlotte] Chester

[103] Charles Chauncey (1777-1849) married Hannah Chester (1781-1821). Her sister, Julia Chester, married Matthew C. Ralston of Philadelphia. See Stiles, *History of Ancient Wethersfield, Conn.*, II, 216.

are of Wethersfield Con: Another sister is married to Mr Ralston of Phil[a] & Mr [Henry] Chester a brother is likewise settled there. We pass'd our time until Sat 12 OClock, in visiting friends & seeing the City, new to my Wife, then took leave of our friends, and arrive in Balt. 3 OClock Sunday morning, the 19[th] Nov[r] at 7 OClock we are well lodged at Barnums Hotel

Monday 20[th] Nov[r] Leave Baltimore in the Steam B[t] Norfolk for Norfolk after passing a pleasant day in Baltimore, showing my Wife the beautiful buildings of that City.

Tuesday morning 21[st] Nov[r] Squally & Rain as we enter the Harbour of Norfolk. Land being received by Mr T Williamson who politely accompanies us to his house & insists on our staying with him until suited with Lodgings. Engage lodgings & board at Mrs Murphy's at $12 p[r] Week.

Wed[y] [Nov.] 22[d] Still summer. See Lyford who says Mr Broughton will have 3 pictures painted at $25. Dinner party at Mr Williamson's.

[Nov.] 23[d] Summer with clouds. Hope to have my painting room ready in about a week.

[Nov.] 30[th] A Snow Storm. I am still without painting or Exhibition Room but hope to have the first finished in 2 or 3 days. We left Mr W's on monday y[e] 27[th] and are in Granby Street.

Norfolk Dec[r] 1[st] A fine Winter morning, the earth cover'd with Snow.

Sunday Dec[r] 10[th] I yesterday return'd from Williamsons hav[s] walked out the day before with my gun.

Monday 11th Decr Began a portrait of Mrs. Williamson. I have finished my Historical picture which I call "Christ's first Teaching in the Temple."

[Dec.] 12th Write a Catalogue. Finish my picture of Susannah at the Bath.

Wedy [Dec.] 13th Paint on Mrs W. Busy in preparing my Exhibition Room.

Thursday [Dec.] 14th Finish my picture of Mahomet afte[r] his return.

Friday [Dec.] 15th Warm as summer. Work on pictures for Exhibition. Finish Mrs. Bourke's picture. I have borrow'd from Mr Glenn, Dr Clarke's Bible & read therein.

[Dec.] 16th A Violent Storm. Evg Snow. Work all day on the picture of Mrs Cooper & child for my Exhibition.

[Dec.] 17th Rain & thaw. Work a little.

[Dec.] 18th Monday. Rain. The snow has disapeared entirely: Work on my pictures for Exhibition. The floor is at length laid of my Exhibition Room & I hope to open it on friday.

Thursday Decr 21st Last night & to day violent rain. Yesterday was perfect summer. I have been busily engaged in painting on and arranging for Exhibition in my new Gallery. I have advertised to open it on Saturday next. My Catalogues are printed. I shall show near 60 pictures of my own painting.

Friday Decr 22d Finish hanging pictures & making other arrangements for my Exhibition.

Saty [Dec.] 23d Open my Exhibition. The rects $2.25. An additional Setter engaged. This is (as Christmas Eve) the great market day. Weather very fine.

Sunday 24th Weather Still warm

25th Christmas day. Raw & cold. My Exhn rects $6.12½ Begin to copy Mr Hunters picture for Mr Owens. Yesterday Mr Cammack & to day Col[l] Armistead engage portraits. The Herald speaks in high praise of my pictures particularly my largest or "Christ's first teaching."

Decr 26th Snow Storm with rain. Evenᵍ cold & clear. Begin Wm Cammack's & Wm Armisteads portraits. Receive a letter from Earl of Philᵃ with a Box of Frames. A letter from Sully from Baltimore, saying he is doing well & a letter from my daughter. My friend Holland [104] is dead.

[Dec.] 27th A fine frosty day. Paint on my Copy of Mr Hunter

[Dec.] 28th Rain all day. Receive 3 frames from Earl priced 9, 12, & 14 dollars, which with Box Freight & Cartage makes them cost me 9:50, 13:50, 16:50. My prices must be 11, 15, 20. Paint on Captn Cammack & a View from Queens Town heights.

[Dec.] 29th Very warm, with high wind & showers all day. Curious effect of damps upon some of my pictures even so as to make them appear utterly ruined. restored by drying them near a stove. Paint on Captn Cammack.

[Dec.] 31st Sunday Pleasant.

Janʸ 1st 1821. Slight frost, very pleasant. Begin Broughtons portrait. Dine at Williamsons.

[Jan.] 2d Threatens snow but clears in the evening. Paint on Mrs Williamsons portrait. My Exhibition increases in value & my principal picture pleases. Become acquainted with Gen[l] [James Patton] Preston the late Govr of this state.

[104] John Joseph Holland, scene-painter and artist, died in New York City December 16, 1820, in the 45th year of his age. (N. Y.) *Commercial Advertiser,* December 18, 1820.

JOHN JOSEPH HOLLAND (c. 1776-1820)

Attributed to William Dunlap

(Courtesy of Miss Elisabeth Marbury)

[Jan.] 3d A most pleasant day. Work on the portrait of Mrs. Williamson

[Jan.] 4th Cold. 5th Very cold.

[Jan.] 6th Violent storm of rain all day. Paint on Broughton & a little on the Play scene of Hamlet.

7th Sunday. Snow. 8th Clear & Cold. 9th Clear & Mild.

[Jan.] 10th Wedy Springlike. Last evens past the evening in company with Tazewell; a most extraordinary man. Eloquent unaffected, mathematical, quick as lightning, sportive & cool.

[Jan.] 11th Rain. Yesterday 2 pictures engaged.

12th A Spring day of sunshine.

13th Saturday. Rain all day.

14th Sunday. Clear & Summer heat. Evening at Doctor Barraud's with Genl Taylor & others.

15th Clear & mild. 16th Cold and threatning snow.

17th Wedy Snow 18th Thursday Clear & cold, the ground cover'd with snow. The 19th is the same. I finish Cammack to day & paint for 2 days on Crocker.

Tuesday [Jan.] 23d The first fine day since the 14th.

24th Very cold & Snow. 25th The cold is excessive for this climate 2 degrees of Farenheit. 26th it begins to moderate 27th Saty Moderate & the harbour which had been closed is open. 28th Sunday Warm as Spring. 29th Still warmer & 30th still warmer, and the three days clear & beautiful.

I have begun a picture of Captn Warrington on speculation. Last evens pass'd with the 2 Parson Lowes [105] and there Wives

[105] Rev. Samuel Low and Rev. Enoch M. Low.

Feb^{y} 19th 1821 Monday. A fine clear day. I am this day 56 years of age. This is my second birthday in Norfolk, yet since the last what a variety of scenes have I pass'd thro'! I sate down yesterday to answer a letter from my amiable friend Doctor Payne of Montreal which revived the events of last Fall & may perhaps lead me again to Canada. But in all thy will be done Oh God! And may I remember that if I truly wish thy will to be done I shall strive to do thy will, and that thy will is truth and love!

Norfolk, Friday April 27th 1821. Rec^{d} the following letter

Private

D^{r} Sir

Should the Theatre not be appropriated in a few days, the proprietors will have it conducted on their acc^{t}. If so, would you be willing to go as their Agent to London, to Embark at New York on 10 of May or Earlier.

Should you like the suggestion, an early meeting would be advisable. I leave this about Wed^{y} for Phila^{a} where I may stay two or three days (at the Washington Hall). You'l have the goodness to write me immediately both to Phil^{a} & N. York.

With regard y^{rs}

John K Beekman

Baltimore Barnums Hotel
W Dunlap Es^{q}

to this I answer'd

Friday Afternoon
Ap^{l} 27th 1821

D^{r} Sir

I have but just received your letter from Baltimore. I did not [intend] leaving this place until July; but upon receiving your answer to this, saying that you will pay my expences to N. York, and (in case an arrangement for the Voyage suggested does not take place) my expences back to Norfolk, I will immediately embark in the Steam Boat for the purpose of an interview with you in New York.

If this should reach you in time to admit of your reply's coming to my hands on or before Sunday 6th May, I shall have it in my power to be in N. York on the 10th.

Y^{rs} &c. W D

John K. Beekman Es^{q}

May 13th [1821] I recd an answer to the above dated the 5th saying that this day Mr Simpson had concluded his agreement for the Theatre & that Beekmans plans were at an end.

[May] 29th Leave Mrs Murphy's boarding house & settled with her. My Wife goes with Mrs Williamson to Ferryville & I go to W's town house. The heat is now in the afternoon of 2 days 88 of Farenheit. 1 day said to be 92.

June 1st 1821. Go down to Ws plantation. Evening rain.

2d So cold as to require fire.

3d Ride to the Bay-side.

4th Return to Norfolk. See a picture said to be a Rubens "St John's head presented to Herod. Introduced to Mr Roberts Cashier of Bank of Fredericksburg.

Monday [June] 11th Last week mostly at the Ferry. Return'd to day. Of the forest trees of this part of Virginia I have remark'd many kinds of Oak not seen with us, the Willow-oak is very beautiful, the live oak, post oak, Chesnut oak &c. The Chinquepin makes a figure.

Thursday & Friday 14 & 15 excessive heat. Painting Miss Nivison

Novr 30th I went home to N. Y. with my Wife the last of June and remained there until the 22d of Novr I am now again in *Norfolk* for the third time, the place becomes more & more desolate, but I Hope to find portrait painting enough here & in the neighbourhood to support me while I finish my picture of Christ Rejected. If I can do so, & accomplish that object in May next I hope I may be better off in pecuniary matters hereafter.

Dec^{r} 1st A Wet day. I have a prospect of employment in Elizabeth City N. C. I am preparing my rooms here for the reception of my paintings & materials.

Sunday 2^{d} Dec^{r} Wet day but still mild. Even^{g} rain. Hear Mr [Joshua T.] Russell the presbyterian preach. Read Wirts life of Patrick Henry. Meagre & inflated.

[Dec.] 3^{d} Write to Earle for prepared cloths. Clear mild weather. I find that the room which Mr M Glenn had intended for me is now occupied as a place [?] for Negroe slaves bro^{t} here to ship by the Slave dealers. I am therefor off from that place. Dine at Neilsons.

[Dec.] 4th Mild rain. Go to Ferryville and live 3 days on Oysters & Hoe cake, shooting partridges. 7th Return to Norfolk.

[Dec.] 8th Saturday. Rain all day. Hear from home. Write to J. K. Beekman respecting an Exhibition room in N. Y. to be built for me.

[Dec.] 9th Sunday Clear & cold not freezing.

10th Dec^{r} Cloudy & cold not freezing. On the opposite page is the inscription for the Crucifixion as given by Clark.

ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ο Ναζωραιος ο Βασιλευς τωη ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ

IESUS NAZARENUS REX IUDAEORUM

W. receives a letter from Elizabeth City N. C. declining my professional services, except for one picture.

[Dec.] 12th Yesterday got my picture up. Williamson has written again to Elizabeth City.

13th Hard Rain. Write to my Wife. Preparing to paint. 15th-17th Frost. Work on my great picture and begin one portrait. To day a thaw.

18th Rain which clears up mild

19th Clear & warm. Williamson goes to the Ferry.

[Dec.] 20th Thursday clear & warm. Paint on Garrison & on the great picture, as I do every day. Receive a final answer from Elizabeth City; I am not wanted.

21st Warm. Cloudy & evening hard rain. Not well. Williamson returns.

[Dec.] 22d Saturday. Warm Showry. Clear & like May. Change to cold rain and a stormy night. 23d Sunday. Cold & cloudy. 24th Cold damp weather. 25th At day break hail, morng cold but clears. Write to my Wife and paint on my picture.

Decr 26th Clear & cold but pleasant receive a letter from my wife. all Well on the 17th

Thursday [Dec.] 27th Work as usual. Crawley has open'd his Museum in conjunction with one Griffith & for first 3 days & evenings recd an average of 18$ 4[th] day 5.

Saturday [Dec.] 29th To day & yesterday are perfect Spring days pleasant as May.

30th Mild, cloudy & showers.

31st Clear & Mild. I have advertised that my Gallery is open, without mentioning my large picture. I will let it be seen in an unfinished State & the other pictures are as last Year.

Jany 1st 1822. This is my third New Years day in Norfolk. The weather is clear & mild. Receive 12 frames from Earle of Phila.

Evening at McIntoshes with W. & Judge Parker, an Egg-Nogg party.

[Jan.] 2d Wedy Clear & warm as May. Receive a letter from my Wife, all well the 26th Dec: Thank God! McLean better & thinks of coming this way.

3d Clear and warm. Agree with Major Cooper for board at $6. pr Week & to have fire every evening.

4th A Snow Storm. 5th Clear & cold

Sunday [Jan.] 6th Clear & mild. Remove to Major Coopers Write to my Wife. Lame with Rheumatism. Sleep still at Williamsons as he is out of town.

7th Clear & warm. Nearly finish Garrison. W. comes home. I am very Lame.

8th Warm Rain. I am better.

[Jan.] 9th & 10th Clear & mild. I am to paint 3 pictures for Shiels & Co.[106] who are to print for it. Begin 1st Mrs Shiels.

11th Clear & very cold. Begin 2d Mrs S.

12th Saturday. Clear & mild. Begin Mr Ashburn of ye firm of Shiels & Co.

14th Sunday was cold & clear & to day clear & cold. My Exhibition yields a little, partly owing to advertising in the Beacon which I do on acct of painting for the printers. I received a letter from my Wife by which I find that the 1st 2d & 3d of Jany were in N. Y. as here. Receive a letter from J. K. Beekmn saying a corner Lot in Broad Way cannot be purchased &c.

[Jan.] 15th Tuesday. Clear & mild. Shiels expresses himself in high & warm terms of praise & admiration of my picture in ye Beacon of to day.

16th Clear & cold. Shiels (H.) engages his portrait, paint on Ashburn & Mrs H. Shiels & on C[hrist] rejted

17th Paint on Mrs W. Shiels. receive letter from A. Robertson & packet of papers by ye Tell Tale.

18th Perfect spring. Lame with Rheumatism in both knees. Begin Mr Shiel's picture.

[106] (Hamilton) Shields, Ashburn, and (William C.) Shields, printers of the *American Beacon,* which Hamilton Shields founded in 1815.

SKETCHES OF LADIES OF NORFOLK, VIRGINIA 1820-1822

By William Dunlap

(In Dunlap's manuscript *Memoirs 26,* in the Library of Yale University)

19th A Lowering & Showery Spring day. Dine with Hamilton Shiels his brother & Mr Ashburn present. Very pleasant evening. The Shiels's are from Phila

[Jan.] 20th Sunday. Warm Rain. 21st Mild & damp

22d Clear & summer like. 23d Clear & cold Spring Weather.

24th Clear & very cold. At night a slight chill

[Jan.] 25th Clear & intensely cold. Quite well again & my Rheumatism almost gone. Afternoon the weather begins to moderate. At Neilson's, introduced to Messrs. Brown & Armistead of Petersburg.

26th Very cold but moderates to a pleasant mild evening. Part of last evening with Williamson & part of this with Lowe.

[Jan.] 27th Rain all day. A few days ago Mr Ogilvie, a presbyterian Minister call'd to see my picture. After warm praises he said he would preach on the subject. To day he calls & shows me a written Sermon which he leaves with me, for remark & correction.

28th Rain. Begin Major Coopers picture.

29th Moist & chilly. Receive letter from my Wife & one from Cunningham of Montreal. Write to both.

30th Rain. Paint on Major Cooper. The picture is for Mr Richd Archer, and is painted as a Sportsman, Cooper being a remarkable Shot.

[Jan.] 31st Rain. Mr Sheldon of Wmsburg engages his miniature.

Febv 1st [1822] Mr S. says he must go home & cant have it done. The rain ceases but it is cold & cloudy.

Satv 2nd Febv A fine clear mild day but Sunday Rain all day & evening. I yesterday got in wood for the Win-

ter. My picture continues to grow and my Exhibition yields something daily.

[Feb.] 8th Ever since ye 2d it has been either rain or very cold. Ogilsvie has made known his intention of preaching & printing a Sermon on my picture.

[Feb.] 9th Saty Clear & mild. Last Saty Wmson sat out for Douthat's & got there on tuesday eveng 4 days & 3 nights. I am bless'd that I did not go.

11th Last night it snow'd but scarce a vestige is left this evening. Receive a message from Wmson which induces me to resolve on going to Westover. Write to Douthat & to my Wife.

12th A Spring day. Receive a letter from my Wife all well 5th.

[Feb.] 13th Spring weather till evening, then Winter again.

April 21st 1822. Norfolk. The continuation of my journalizing is in a red morocco cover'd book.

Exhibition in Norfolk 1820

Dr			Cr			
[1820]	posting Bills	.50	Decr	23rd	Recd	2.25
	Freight of pictures &c	15.		25	.....	6.12½
	Osborne's Bill ...	45.		27	.....	1.25
	Greens Do	10		28th	.....	.25
	Broughtons Do ..	27.50		29th	.....	1.
	Rent	10		30th	.....	5.75
	Brocksholme's wages	12	1821 Jany	1st	.....	6.75
	Cleaning	.25		2d	.....	2.50
	Paper	.25		3d	.....	.50
	Loss in changing	.50		5th	.....	75
	Cleaning door ..	.25		8th & 9th	.....	3.50
[1821]				10th	.....	.75
Feby	1st B's wages	12		11th	.....	.75
Mar	1st Do	12		12th & 13th	.....	2.87½
Apl	1st Do	12			3 weeks	35.00
		157.25	[Jan.]	15	.....	4.
				19	.....	.25
				23d	.....	2.

May 31st B's [wages] & print^{s} 15

172.25
111.37

Sunk $ 60.88

[Jan.] 25 to 29 ..... 4.87½
30th 4.25
31st 1.50
Feb^{y} 3^{d} 3.25

6 weeks 55.12½

[Feb.] 8th 3.75
15th 1.37½
17th ..... .75

8 weeks 61.

Mar 1st 6.12½
Rec^{d} to April 1st
14 weeks open 91.12½
Ap^{l} 10th ..... .50
May 29th 19.25
31st ..... .50

111.37½

Dr Painting at Norfolk Cr

To Expences in coming hither & residing to this time Dec^{r} 27th. 143.

[Dec.] 28th Freight & Cartage ... 2.12½
1821 Shovel & tongs 1.25
Board .... 20.
D° ..... 6.
Jan^{y} 15th D° & washing ..... 15.
22^{d} D°D° &c.. 14.
30th Sp: Turp: &c. & Board &c. 14.50
Due James Earl ..... 14.
Feb^{y} 1st Fixing & repair^{s} Stove 1.50
5th Board 13 Sent to N. Y. 10 & postage &c. to 8th 24.25
12th Board &c. . 15.
19th D° &c. .... 13.

By T Williamson charged ..... 50.
p^{d} W Cammack .... 75.
p^{d} Owens ..... 30.
p^{d} Broughton 41.66
Lost Wilton Hope .... 20.
Col^{l} Armstead ... 50
p^{d} 40 p^{d}
p^{d} Mr Osborne .... 30.
p^{d} Cap^{t} Crocker ... 40.
p^{d} 20
(if one it must be 50)
p^{d} Doctor Fernandes. 10.
From W Cammack for frame ..... 20.
p^{d} Broughton (2^{d}) .. 41.66
p^{d} Feb^{y} 17th Judge Parker ..... 50.
Rec^{d} of Mr Broughton
Cash 40
Bill p^{d} 27.50
—— 67.50
p^{d} Wadsworth ..... 5.
p^{d} Mrs Cosby ..... 50.

Feb^{y}	26th	D° &c.	14
Mar	5th	D° &c.	15.
	9th	Freight &c. of 11 Frames .	5.50
	12th	Board &c..	14.
	16th	Mr Green for Cloths &c	4.
	26th	Board &c. .	28.
Ap	2^{d}	Rent	15.
		Board &c. .	14.
	9	D° &c.	14.
		Stove pipe.	.50
	23	Board &c. .	27.
May	7	D°	26.
		Green for cloths	3.
			463.62½
May	30th	Board &c .	45.

		Dr Barraud (Williamsons charged..	50.
1 May		Fran^{s} S. Taylor.. p^{d} 15 p^{d}	30.
p^{d}		Geo: Loyall with frame	65.
p^{d}		F. S. Taylor frame	10.
p^{d}		Rob^{t} Douthat 2..	100.
		E Low	50.
Lost		Miss Neveson	50.
		Mrs Crocker	40.

Dr Painting in Norfolk &ca. 1821 Nov^{r} Cr

		Travelling Expences	30.50
		Wood 1.00 Sawing 50/100 Cart^{s} 25/100	2.25
		Snake Exhibition .	.25
Dec^{r}			
3		p^{d} Capt^{n} Cammack for frame	15.
8th		Serv^{ts} & postage..	.75
10th		Freight & Cartage.	6.
12th		Washing &c.	1.12½
22th		To Green for frames & pannells.	10.75
		D° for work on rooms	9.
25		To Wattles for services in full....	5.
		Servants 1.50 postage .50	2.
		Sent to my Wife..	20
31st		paid Cartage	.18
		By Cash from Judge Parker	40.
Dec^{r}			
15th		Garrison ..... p^{d} 20	25.
17th		Exhibition	.50
		from Green ..... (money lent)	3.
		Rev^{d} E Low..... p^{d} 25 & 25	50.
27th		Exhibition	.25
31st		D°	.25
1822			
Jan^{y}			
1st		D°	.50
7th		D°	.50
8th		D°	1.
12th		1.25	
14th		2.50	3.75
		Mr A Taylor his fathers portrait framed	100.

SKETCHES OF LADIES OF NORFOLK, VIRGINIA 1820-1822

By William Dunlap

(In Dunlap's manuscript *Memoirs 26,* in the Library of Yale University)

1822		
Jan^{y}		
1st	Freight of frames.	6.75
	postage	.25
2^{d}	D°	.25
7th	Washing	2.
14th	postage	.50
	D° & Frank	.50
15th	postage	.25
17th	D°	.50
19th	Board 2 weeks to to morrow	12.
21st	Green for Wattles board in full.....	4.
	Postage	.25
29th	Paper, Postage, Shoes	3.50
31st	Sent to my wife..	40.
	Discount on money .25 postage .50....	.75
Feb^{y}		
2^{d}	Wood, Cart^{s} Sawing &c	2.25
	Mending boots 12½ Shoes 2.50	2.62½
		178.93
	Sent home	60

My Expences & Expences of p[ainting] Room 118.93
Rec^{d} & to be received on account for 386.62
[Balance] 267.69

15th	Exhibition	1.
16th	D°	.75
17th	D°	1.25
18th	D°	1.75
19th	D°	1.50
21st	D°	.25
22^{d}	D°	1.25
	Messrs Shiels Ashburn & Shiels 3 portraits (for which I am to receive in payment printing in Bills, advertisem^{ts} & pamphlets)	75.
	W. Shiels portrait p^{d}...	25.
	[Jan.]	
23^{d}	Exhibition	3.50
24th	D°	1.
25th	D°	.25
26th	D°	2.12½
28th	D°	1.
	Major Cooper a portrait	40.
29th	Exhibition	.50
31st	D°	2.
Feb^{y}		
1st	.....	1.75
2^{d}	.....	.75
4th	.....	1.25
		386.62

Dr Painting in Norfolk 1821-2 Cr

1822		
Feb^{y}		
5th	Washing	2.
12th	postage .25 Washing &c 1.12½	1.37½
Mar		
12th	Journey up James River	24.75

	By Balance	267.69
Feb^{y}		
5th	Exhibition	2.
7th	D°	.25
8th	D°	.25
9th	D°	1.75
12th	D°	2.50
13th	D°	2.50

12th	postage & Draymen	.75
	Sent to my Wife..	100
	& D. Gillespie 80	180.
	Gum mastic & Sponge	.50
15th	postage .25	
	Green for Cloths.	10.75
28th	Washg	2.2
Apl		
3dt	Sully for Canvass.	45.
	Lucas for Lamps.	35.
9	Staples &c for Ch:	
	Rejd	1.
	Freight of Lamps &c	1.
12	Gilding	3.
22	Screws &c. 62½	
	Stove pipe 6.50..	7.12½
	Frames (Earle) .	150.
	Green Baize	10.
	Sending Douthats pictures off	.25
27	My Wife 75	
	D Gillespie 50 ..	125.
	Baize 2.50 Spikes .50	3.
	postage &c	.50
31	Washing	2.
May		
5th	Baize 4.37½	
	Sunds 4.25	7.62½
	printing	75.
10th	Sundries for Exhn.	4.37½
	Majr Cooper to 2d May	42.
	D° D°	40.
20th	Shoes & Vermillion &c	6.50
25th	Washing 2.50	
	postage &c .50..	3.
	Cylender for Christ's first teachg	2.50
27	Trousers & stockings	4.
14th	D°	5.00
	From Thos Marshall	60.
	Robt Douthat ...	180.
Mar.		
13th	Exhibition	.25
14th	D°	1.50
28th	Mr Baker of Suffolk pd	50.
	Exhibition	1.75
	Williamson for Spencer	5.
	pd Mr Baker engages a frame ... (pd 10 & 6)	16.
	Williamson frame for Dr B	15.
	pd Mr Hall portrait ..... (pd 10 & 15) (and 25 to be taken in Books)	25.
	Exhibition	.25
	pd R Douthat 4 portraits & 6 frames	270.
Apl		
20th	T. Moran a portrait pd	50.
22	Ham: Shiels D°.. pd	25.
27	(Exhibition has yielded to this time $46)	
May		
25	Exhibition of Christ Rejected from 1st of May.	67.87½
	Mr E Low a frame	15.
	pd Mrs Crocker's portrait	40.
	pd frame	16.
		1120.56½

31st	Frames 28$ & Sundries .50	28.50	Frame Major Cooper.	16.	
			2 d° Williamson ..	36.	
		818.50			1172.56½
1822					
June					
1st	packing Boxes ...	7.25	1172.56		
	printing	25.50	1003.65		
	Hams	24.40	168.91		
	Owens for Candles	2.50	115		
	Drays &c. .50				
	Rent 150	150.50			283.91
		1028.65	Mr Taylor	100	
	Rent unpd	25.	Low	15	
		1003.65	Garrison ...	5	
			Moran	1	
					121.
					162.

Dr	T[homas] W[illiamson]		Cr
Cash Apl 1st 1821.....	25.	Cash .....176.	
D° Johns Exps	94.78	Rent from Janr 1821 to	
Mrs Ws picture	50.	July 1822 .....150.	
Frame	15.		326.
Dr Barauds D°	50.		
Frame	15.		
portt Spencer	5.		
Frame for John's Copy of [illegible]	10.		
Frame for the Sketch of Christ rejected	25.		
Frame for W Ds portrait.	11.		
Balance	25.22		
	326.		

Recd Norfolk April 6th 1821 from Willm Dunlap Fifteen dollars in full of all demands whatsoever up to this date.

$15. Joseph Orsborn

[On a separate sheet laid between two leaves is the following receipt:]

Norfolk April 2, 1821. Received of Mr Wm Dunlap Twenty five dollars for One Quarters Rent of the Exhibition Room due 31st Ult°

Thom Williamson